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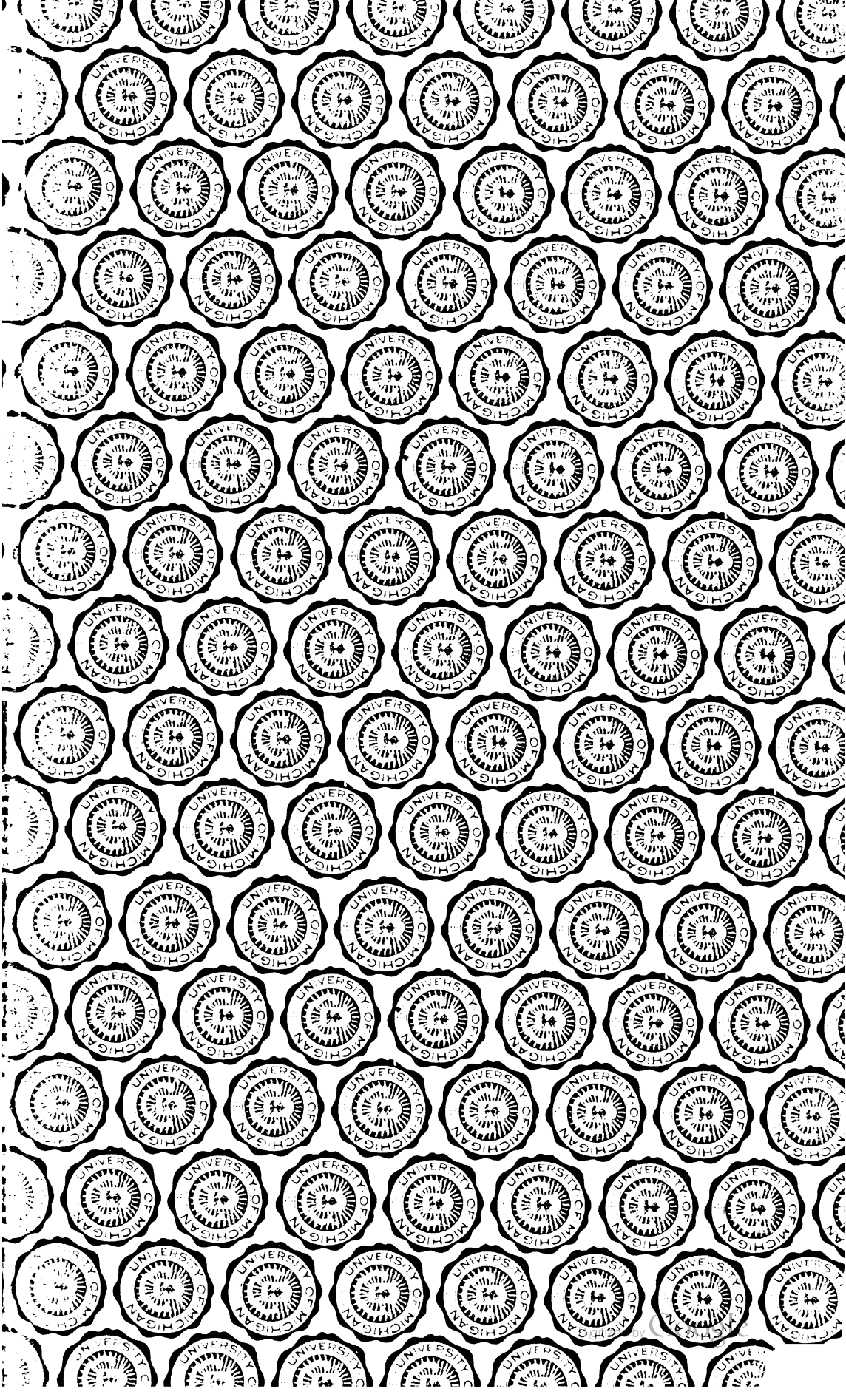




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**THE HIGH STREET.  
COLCHESTER.**

Painted by J. H. Johnson, 1884. For the Vermont Historical Society, by the Vermont Historical Society, 1884.

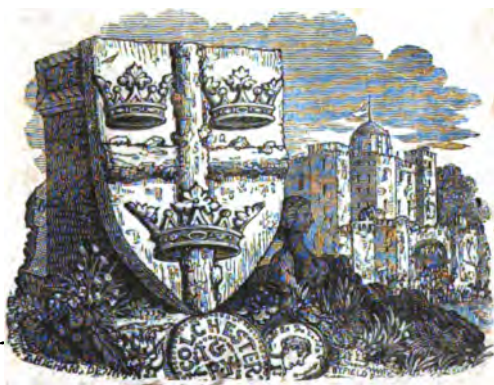
**HISTORY**  
**AND**  
**Description of the Ancient Town**  
**AND**  
**BOROUGH OF COLCHESTER,**

IN ESSEX:

BY THOMAS <sup>Kits<sup>n</sup></sup>  
CROMWELL.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ENGRAVINGS.

**VOL I.**



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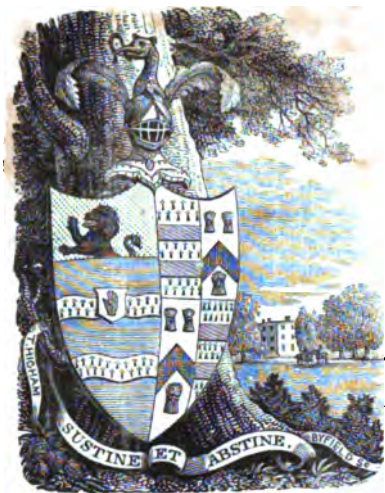


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TO

**SIR GEORGE HENRY SMYTH,**

**OF BERE CHURCH HALL,**

***In the County of Essex,***

***BARONET;***

**WHOSE FAMILY HAS LONG BEEN RESIDENT**

**IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF**

**COLCHESTER,**

**AND WHOSE FATHER FOR SEVERAL YEARS REPRESENTED**

**THE BOROUGH IN PARLIAMENT;**

**THIS HISTORY & DESCRIPTION**

***Of that Ancient Town,***

**IS WITH DUE RESPECT INSCRIBED**

**BY HIS OBLIGED AND OBEDIENT SERVANT**

**THE AUTHOR.**





Stephen Spaulding Coll.  
Haverhill, Mass.  
3-22-28  
24.

## PREFACE.

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**TO** every lover of history and antiquarian research, there can exist few more interesting English towns than that of **COLCHESTER**. Eminent as the capital of a line of British kings—as the earliest Roman colony in our island—as a place of importance both in the Saxon and Norman times—as the scene of some of the most remarkable occurrences in the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century—and as the depository up to the present day of more Roman antiquities than any other town in Britain can boast—**COLCHESTER** must appear to require only the pen of the judicious antiquary and historian, in order to become, with more than the casual visitor

or enquiring resident, the subject of the attention and curiosity it so well deserves.

The author of these volumes is however far from imagining, that he has worthily executed the task he proposed to himself, that of at once gratifying the inhabitant of the Ancient Town, and the lover of topography and antiquities in general, with a more complete and succinct account of COLCHESTER than has appeared since the elaborate work of Morant in the last century. But he may be allowed to plead for the propriety, and perhaps even the merit, of his undertaking, whatever may be the opinion formed of his success. He acknowledges his obligations to the laborious writer just mentioned, for much of the historical matter contained in the following sheets; in regard to which he has aspired to no higher praise, than that of rendering it, by compression and occasional elucidation, more useful and accept-

able to the modern reader. His views, with regard to the remoter points of British history, are, in some respects, he is inclined to believe, original; and without arrogating to himself any credit for their production, he submits so much of them as may appear under that character, to the consideration of the candid antiquary. As relates to all the modern features of the Town, every practicable assistance has been derived from personal inspection, and the very kind communications of several respectable inhabitants. Among the latter, he must be permitted to particularise R. D. Mackintosh, Esq. M. D.; the Rev. C. F. Mustard, B. A.; F. T. Abell, B. Strutt, and F. Smythies, Esqrs.; whose favours and attentions, and the friendly offices of many other obliging residents, he will hold in his most grateful remembrance.

It may be scarcely necessary to add, that the *engravings* accompanying the

work, being by an Artist whose illustrations of topographical subjects have obtained deserved celebrity, will be found real embellishments, as well as faithful in all points of resemblance. Conscious of support from the talents of this gentleman, the author has spared no exertions to render these volumes, in every other respect, as interesting as it was in his power to make them: and he now consigns them to the Public, not without the feelings of incompetency proper to such occasions, yet neither without so much confidence in the candour and kindness of his readers, as the favourable reception of his previous efforts in this class of literature must as properly inspire.

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**PART. I.**

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**HISTORY OF COLCHESTER:**

**FROM ITS FOUNDATION BY THE BRITONS,**

**TO THE EXISTING ERA.**



# HISTORY OF COLCHESTER.

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## CHAP. I.

SITUATION, NATURAL ADVANTAGES, AND GENERAL APPEARANCE. ORIGIN: AND HISTORY, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES, TO THE DEPARTURE OF THE ROMANS FROM BRITAIN.

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**THE** ancient, and in so many respects interesting town of COLCHESTER, in Essex, is situated in the north-eastern part of that county: in lat. 51 deg. 55 min. North; and in the first meridian of East longitude, calculated from London. Its distance from the Metropolis of the British Empire, is 51 miles.

The *Site* of this town possesses several advantages. For, while it stands so near the sea, as to derive from that circumstance nearly all the benefits that accrue from a situation upon the coast itself, it is sufficiently inland to be protected from noxious damps and marine vapours. Extending its buildings up the North and East sides of a fine eminence, that rises gradually from the river Colne, it resembles most towns so situated in dryness, and cleanliness, and their consequent salubrity. The air is pure and good; and the prospects of the surrounding country, from the most elevated parts, are extensive.

The *Soil* is generally sandy; but varies from that to gravel, and in some instances to loam or clay: by far the major part possesses the *anti-humid* character, which is calculated to have a favourable effect upon the health of the inhabitants.

The *General Appearance* of the place is pleasing and respectable; and there is a pervading air of antiquity, which at first sight interests the stranger. The streets are mostly regular and well-built; and the principal one is justly considered very handsome. There is more width and spaciousness, generally, than is common in old towns. It has been observed, that the main street, with two others which unite with it transversely at its upper end, resemble together the shaft and arms of a *cross*: and antiquarians have conjectured this leading feature in the form of the town, (these streets being the widest and most important ones,) to bear relation to a monkish legend, to which we shall more particularly allude in another part of this chapter.

Although the name given to this spot by the Britons, its first inhabitants, remains unfixed with positive certainty, there are grounds for believing the existing site of Colchester to have been that of a town even in the earliest times. For the Britons, from a period considerably prior to the invasion of Julius Cæsar, were accustomed to rear their *associated* and *permanent* residences on dry and hilly spots, embosomed in thick woods, and descending to a stream or navigable river;—a description, which will exactly apply to the original site of Colchester. To such situations, being easily defensible after their manner, the successors of the primeval and pastoral inhabitants made resort, when the jealousies and divisions that arose out of a thickening population, or the dangers that threatened from

foreign enemies, rendered the scattered hut upon the open plain, and a life entirely pastoral, at once insecure, and, in other respects, less desirable. Then, particularly on such spots as we have described, arose the rude British strong-hold, in all things similar to "Cassibeline's forrest-camp, or fastnesse, misnamed a towne," to adopt the language of a quaint but ingenious writer. Nay, it is not improbable, that such spots were selected even by the aboriginal tribes of pastoral wanderers, whenever, for short periods, they congregated their dwellings; being but naturally tempted to such by their salubrity and pleasantness, and their possession of the chief conveniences required by so simple a mode of life. And, to the advantages here afforded for a natural fastness, it was necessary only, when defence became a primary object, to add the ditch, and earthen rampart, together perhaps with the strong line of sharpened stakes, in order to complete a fortress truly formidable to any hostile race of the divided Britons; nay, such as even the military experience of the Romans, in after times, found it not easy to reduce.

The materials of which the first habitations in Britain, and perhaps throughout northern Europe, were composed, were undoubtedly strong branches of trees, thickly interlaced with twigs or reeds, and plastered, it is likely, whenever the nature of the soil would admit, with clay. They are supposed to have been of circular form; and that their sloping roofs, each terminating in a point, were covered with the skins of wild beasts procured in hunting, or with the reeds so easily obtained from the everywhere numerous marshes. A very inconsiderable number of such huts—or possibly a single hut of this description, reared by some straggling hunter for his summer residence in the woods, or by the patriarch of

some primeval family, whose herds might obtain abundance of water from the river flowing on two sides at the foot of the hill—may be presumed therefore to have been the origin of the afterwards so important town, which was the Roman Camulodunum, and has become the modern Colchester. But, when foreign warfare assailed our coasts, and intestine enmities had created hostile tribes, new strength was given to the residences, then for protection first enclosed with the trench, earth-mound, &c.; the walls of the huts being from that period formed of solid timber, of which the situation of all the strong places in the thickest woods rendered the supply abundant. And their construction in this manner on the bold slope of our town's hill-side, united with their great numerical increase there, since the decay of pastoral habits, constitutes, agreeably to all the lights obtained from antiquarian research, the second era in the remote building of Colchester.

Previously to contemplating the town at its next historic stage, it may be useful to make some brief allusion to the two distinct and successive *races* of our British ancestors, who have been too often confounded by antiquarian writers, to the unavoidable confusion of vast and inimical tribes, and the almost ludicrous agglomeration, in some instances, of hostile nations and successive centuries. To *one* of these two races, the British founders of Colchester may be traced with very apparent probability: while all accounts of the town at that early period must partake of the confusion complained of, without clear views first obtained of *the other*; and of the relative local positions, very contrary character, and natural and acquired advantages, of both.

The CELTÆ, there can scarcely exist a doubt, were the primeval possessors of the British Islands. They



migrated to Britain, most probably from Gaul, at a period totally unknown to legitimate history. During centuries after their original settlement here, they continued the strictly pastoral life to which we lately alluded; and were at peace with each other, it may be presumed, because, as the extent of the country was for a long time sufficient to meet all their wants, there could exist few or no motives for warfare. Ignorant of agriculture, and of the metallurgic art, mechanical instruments, and weapons of offence, remained, during these untold centuries, almost unknown; indeed, the only evidences we possess of their having ever formed such instruments, or weapons, are the *stone-hatchets* found in the cabinets of antiquaries, who have bestowed on them the rather puerile term of *celts*. The Phœnicians, though from remote ages they traded with Britain for tin, confined their intercourse to an extreme point of the island; and the Celtæ in general devoting themselves exclusively to their herds of cattle, could possess no inducements to rear towns in the *interior* of their country for commercial purposes, nor, while the population continued thin, and their habits of life unchanged, would be likely to erect such as the British towns have been described to be, from defensive motives.

The buildings of the Celtæ, nearly universally, therefore, may be judged such as we have endeavoured to bring before the reader's eye, in our view of Colchester in its *first* state. But the conflict of passions generated through a vast increase in the number of the inhabitants, and a consequent decrease in the means of an existence supported wholly by pasturage, at length gave excitement to the warlike principle but too inherent in mankind; while the incursions of a *common enemy*, became the source of their instruction in all the

early hostile arts. The enemy alluded to were the **BELGÆ** of Gaul; a people, whose habits and manners were in many important respects entirely opposed to those of the *Celtæ*; and the date of whose first coming to this island, with hostile views, has been conjectured to be about the year 350 before Christ, though the *Belgic merchants* had previously established maritime settlements, with consent of the natives, at several places along the southern and south-eastern coasts. Ere long after they had thus succeeded in colonizing great part of the maritime line of South Britain, together perhaps with the entire Eastern coast of Kent, they ventured upon those inland incursions, which produced such important changes, both in the inhabitants and face of the country exposed to the attacks of an enemy so formidable. Forming a portion of that vast *Scythic* swarm, which had overspread nearly all southern Europe from Scandinavia, we see in every feature of the domestic, rural, and warlike practices of this enterprising people, the distinguishing marks of a *Scythic* origin. By the time they arrived in Britain, they had become tolerably skilful metallurgists, and were proficient in all the then known arts of agriculture. Prone to war, and regarded, as matter of course, in the light of enemies by every people among whom their irruptions were attended with success, they congregated for mutual protection; and their agricultural habits enabled them to derive subsistence from a portion of the earth, small in comparison with what must have been required by the pastoral. From necessity, not less than choice, they surrounded their associated dwellings in the woods, with the defences usual in the continental countries whence they migrated; and by these means, and their practice of

tilling some portion of the country, in the vicinage of their habitations, they became the founders of regular towns, and of agriculture, in Britain.

At the period of Cæsar's invasion, the Britons appear to have been divided into the *three* following classes:—

1. The Belgic Britons, descendants of the invading Belgæ, who, besides other maritime parts, occupied the entire south-eastern portion of the island, (the country from its angular form then called that of the *Cantii*, and which from the same appellation derives its modern name of Kent,) and were spread also over no small portions of Middlesex and Essex. Cæsar describes this quarter of Britain as containing an infinite multitude of people—“*Hominum est infinita multitudo*” are his words\*—and the houses as very thick, built after the manner of the Gauls. Having maintained a constant commercial correspondence with the country of their descent, these people were the most refined inhabitants of the island. And their habitations, *along the coasts*, were as superior, it seems reasonable to conclude, to the *towns of defence in the woods*, which their ancestors had first introduced; but the use of which, among themselves, would now be nearly confined to the neighbourhood of their Celtic enemies.

2. Those tribes of the Celtæ, who, in imitation of the Belgæ by whom they had been driven northwards or inland, and, for defence alike against foes of their own race and the settled Belgic population, had fixed their dwellings within forest-towns, protected by the fosse, mound, and palisade. This class, we may further imagine, had made some progress in agriculture prior to the arrival of the Romans; copying the example of the Belgæ in that respect, not less than in that of their modes of fortification.

\* Cæsar de Bello. Gall.

3. The descendants of the aboriginal Celtæ, who had retired to the most inland parts, were very numerous, and retained the strictly pastoral habits of their forefathers. These still resided in scattered hovels of the rudest kind, and subsisted on the milk of their herds, and the flesh of animals obtained by the chase. As they differed, Cæsar informs us, in "language, customs, and laws," from the Belgæ, it is the more surprising that antiquaries should have so frequently confounded the reliques, and very distinguishing peculiarities, of the latter people, with theirs, under the indiscriminating term of *Celtic*.

It remains to notice to which of these three classes, the British founders of Colchester should be referred.

Allowing the probability that the site of this town was often that of a few temporary dwellings, even in the completely pastoral times of Britain, the founders of what might in any sense be called a town here, will not appear to have been of earlier existence than the *Second* class; or that, upon which necessity had engrafted the habit of residing within fastnesses in woods, and which the agricultural and warlike arts of the Belgæ had provoked to successful rivalry. Our reasons for ascribing the foundation of Colchester to this class, will appear from the following historical facts, and the inferences naturally drawn from them.

A colony of the *Cantii*, or Belgæ of Kent, departed, it appears, at an era not precisely laid down, but subsequent to the year 350 before Christ, from their original settlements; and, crossing the Thames, founded and gave name to a kingdom, which comprehended the major part, it is certain, of modern Middlesex and Essex. It must be the opinion of every one who examines and judges for himself, and who consequently does not regard

every thing ante-Roman in our Island as *Celtic*, that this colony built London, then styled *TRINOVANTUM*, or *TRINOBANTUM*, (signifying the *city of the new-comers*, and from which their kingdom was called that of the *TRINOVANTES*.) But no such etymological or other deductions, will favour the belief of the same colony's having founded Colchester; although the latter, prior to Cæsar's arrival, had become of more than equal consequence to the former, and a place, therefore, their foundation of which, if they had founded it, was more likely to have been handed down to us. Yet, that a town, on the site of existing Colchester, called *CAM-A-LAÜN-UÏDUN*, (*the town on the HILL, at the winding of a RIVER*,) was founded, at a time not distant from that marked by the rise of infant London, is nearly indisputable. Had it been built by the Trinovantes, or Cantian colony above mentioned, it would have been as likely to confer a name upon their kingdom as Trinovantum. The natural probability, therefore, is, that its real founders were a tribe of the old Celtic inhabitants; who might rear it soon after the building of Trinovantum, (and before the Kentish Belgæ could extend their conquests beyond Middlesex,) upon the model of the grand fortress of the restless "new-comers," and as a check to their anticipated advancing incursions. The situations of Colchester and London are similar in this, that both are formed by the slope of an eminence to a navigable river;—both, at the period of their foundation, were embosomed in thick woods;—and while these several circumstances, in the case of London, would unite to constitute the attractions known to have been so peculiarly coveted by the Belgic adventurers, in that of Colchester, they would mark out one of the spots, by nature furnished for the desponding Celtæ with the advantages of which their

enemies had so dexterously availed themselves, and incite them to rear *their* forest-town, the strength and celebrity of which should rival those of the already far-famed Trinovantum.

There are some farther historical data, which seem to confirm our idea. Whether Cam-a-laün-üidun was deprived of its independence in the contest with the Trinovantes, falling, with all southern Essex, and at least eastern Middlesex, into their hands;—or whether, as is clearly possible, it formed a part of the Celtic kingdom of the *Cassi*, which comprehended portions of Middlesex, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, and perhaps also the northern parts of Essex;—there exist not authorities to enable us to ascertain. It may be remarked, however, that the territory maintained by the retreating *Cassi*, when dispossessed by their enemies of their own, would naturally take the form, which the portion of each of the counties mentioned, nearest the Trinovantian kingdom, will describe; namely, a *curre*, extending from the north bank of the Thames west of Trinovantum, to the German Ocean north-east of Cam-a-laün-üidun;—spreading every practicable way from the seat of the hostile force in the centre. And when an after king of the *Cassi*, the renowned Cassivellaun, or Cassibelaun, taking advantage of the experience in war his subjects had acquired through long practice with their foes, over-ran the country of the Trinovantes, and, recovering all the ancient possessions of his kingdom, became master of Trinovantum itself, he transferred the seat of government from that city, to no other place than Cam-a-laün-üidun!—affording us a strong presumption in this, that the spot he fixed upon, in preference to Trinovantum, from whence to administer his government as king of the Trinovantes, (to which title he

was elevated after his conquests,) had been his capital when merely king of the Cassi. And if the justice of this last inference be admitted, the argument leaps thence at once to the conclusions, that Cam-a-laün-uïdun had all along formed part of the territory of the Cassi, and not of the Trinovantes; had been founded, for defence against the latter, by the former people; and should be referred to the Celtic, and not the Belgic Britons, for its origin.

Cassivellaun's establishment in Cam-a-laün-uïdun as king of the Trinovantes, took place about the year 100 before Christ. He had caused the former Trinovantian king, *Lud*, the *Imanuentius* of Cæsar, to be put to death: a circumstance also related with the addition, that Cassivellaun and Lud were brothers; the improbability of which near relationship must strike every one, who reflects that they were the kings of hostile tribes, whose very national derivation was different.—But we hasten to the important period of the Roman invasion of Britain.

Cassivellaun, it is explicitly recorded in history, was chosen general-in-chief of the united Celtic and Belgic Britons, upon the news of Cæsar's hostile intentions. In this choice, the various and so long contending tribes, at length awakened to the sense that unanimity was their only safeguard, gave unequivocal proof how highly they esteemed the military talents of the Trinovantian king. But, either struck with terror at the Roman name, or permitting themselves to yield to envy and jealousy of their commander, the petty princes under him soon drew off their forces, and either retired into the interior, or made submissions to the enemy. Till at length, Cassivellaun, finding himself daily growing weaker, embraced the terms offered him by Cæsar, and gave hostages for his fidelity to the Roman power; and



Cæsar himself then returning into Gaul, thus ended his first expedition to Britain.

The conditions of peace were not perhaps very strictly observed by the Britons; for the next year saw the imperial eagles once more planted on their shores. This second attempt was followed up with more zeal and good fortune than the first; Cæsar, who had not hitherto penetrated beyond Kent and Surrey, now crossing the Thames, though not without difficulty and a vigorous opposition, and entering the Trinovantian territory. At this, the Trinovantes themselves, thinking the opportunity favourable for withdrawing their forced allegiance to a prince, with whom they had formerly been at open enmity as king of the Cassi, sent secret messengers to the Roman general, throwing themselves upon his clemency, and desiring him to appoint Mandubrace, elder son of their late monarch Imanuentius, to reign over them instead of Cassivellaun. Mandubrace, it should be noticed, had fled to Cæsar in Gaul immediately upon the fall of his father; and, it is probable, had from the first instigated his willing protector to lead the Roman legions to Britain. Cæsar readily granted this request of the Trinovantes; and proceeded immediately to reduce the reigning king, who firmly awaited the approach of his enemies in his capital.

It was now that the rude strength of Cam-a-luin-uidun as a British fortress, was to approve itself against the regular attacks of a Roman army. The result must be anticipated: the place was forced by the Romans, and Mandubrace victoriously seated upon his father's throne. As regards the farther history of Cassivellaun, authors vary: some saying, that he was permitted to continue in the sovereignty of the Trinovantes until his

death, while Mandubrace accompanied Cæsar to Rome; others, that Mandubrace was reinstated, as we have said. Supposing the latter account the most correct, as it is certainly the most probable, it seems not unlikely that Cassivellaun, though deprived of the Trinovantian kingdom, retained for the rest of his life quiet possession of that of the Cassi; though not of its supposed ancient seat, Cam-a-laün-uidun, which became the residence of the restored race of princes.

The successor of Mandubrace was Tenuant, his brother, Lud's second son. Of this prince nothing memorable is recorded. He was succeeded by his son Cunobilin, or Cunobeline, (for his name is thus differently spelt upon his coins,) who was greatly attached to the Romans, and punctually continued the tribute his uncle Mandubrace had contracted to raise for the imperial government. During his youth, it is said, Cunobeline had been led by curiosity, and the desire of self-improvement, to Rome; and, attending Augustus Cæsar in his wars, had grown into that emperor's particular favour, and been saluted by the Roman people with the name of Friend of the Commonwealth. Acquiring a knowledge of the Roman arts from his residence at the imperial capital, he employed them, when seated on his father's throne, in conveying the memory of his own name, and the services he had rendered his people, to posterity. A great number of his coins, in gold, silver, and brass, are extant; some bearing ears of corn on the reverse, to signify the improvements he introduced in agriculture; others impressed with armed heads, &c., implying, it is supposed, that he was the first to array his soldiers in the Roman manner.

Under the auspices of Cunobeline, Cam-a-laün-uidun, which about this time, it is likely, was first Latinized

into CAMULODUNUM, became a worthy seat of so enlightened a governor. Embellishment, until now, had not been regarded in the construction of its buildings; the town having from the first been raised in the manner of a wood-fortress, and neither Cassivellaun, nor his two immediate successors, having possessed taste or knowledge for architectural improvement. But with Cunobeline arose structures built after the Roman manner; and all the arts of peace flourished beneath his wise protection and encouragement.

CAMULODUNUM, by which name we shall now distinguish our town, is first mentioned in history in the account of the warlike visit paid to Britain by the emperor Claudius, which took place about 44 years after the birth of Christ. The occasion of the imperial visit was this. Cunobeline being dead, his son Guiderius had succeeded to the government of the Trinovantes. But Adminius, another son of Cunobeline, who had been banished for mal-practices in the late reign, and had taken refuge with the Roman government, having being joined at Rome by other British fugitives, they united their endeavours to persuade Claudius to undertake a thorough reduction of the island. Jealous of their influence with the emperor, and possibly suspecting the end to which it was applied, ambassadors were sent from Britain, demanding the restoration of the traitors; which Claudius refusing, the Britons retaliated by withholding the accustomed tribute. This afforded the very pretext for an invasion, which the emperor secretly desired: Plautius, an experienced general, was immediately dispatched to lead the enterprise, in quality of lieutenant to Claudius, who himself promised to follow, if he found himself too weak to complete it.

Plautius experienced all the difficulties that were

anticipated; and, though he gained several battles, in the last of which Guiderius was slain, he found the opposition of the Britons, far from abating, only to become more obstinate; consequently, he fulfilled his instructions, in sending for the emperor. Claudius, embarking with a large force, speedily arrived; and taking the command of both armies, passed the Thames, and encountered the Britons on the opposite shore. The latter were discomfited. Claudius pursued his victory by marching to Camulodunum, which he took; planted there a *Colony* of his veterans; and reduced this part of the island to the form of a Roman province. From this period, Colchester is frequently termed COLONIA, (by way of eminence,) and COLONIA CAMULODUNUM:—for we shall waste no time in reviving the argument, as to whether Colchester in reality *was* this celebrated Colonia;—a point, which may be considered fully settled in its favour. Together with the rest of the province thus formed, it was henceforth deprived of its ancient freedom and independent government; and subjected to the command of governors sent from Rome; viz. a Legatus, or Proprætor, Procurator, Quæstor, Tribuni, &c.; who levied such taxes and contributions as the senate thought proper to impose.\*

\* The colonies planted by the Romans were of three kinds; 1. Civil; 2. Military; 3. Mixed.—The *Civil* Colonies consisted only of Roman citizens, drawn out of the city, and planted in places from which the former inhabitants had been removed. These had all the privileges of the city of Rome, and the same kind of magistrates and government. (*A. Gellius.*)—The *Military* Colonies were such as the veteran soldiers were settled in, as the reward of long service; of which kind were the colony here at Camulodunum, and, subsequently, the colonies at York, Chester, Caerlon, &c.—*Mixed* Colonies were those, wherein Roman citizens and the natives were

After a short stay of sixteen days in the island, during which, by disarming the refractory, and shewing marks of favour to the submissive, he did much to consolidate the infant power of Rome in Britain, Claudius departed; leaving Plautius his first pro-prætor, with instructions to prosecute the entire reduction of the country with new vigour. The success of this able lieutenant in obeying his instructions, it belongs not to the present work to describe; our attention being more properly directed to the state of Camulodunum, as the immediate seat of government of the Romans.

The gratitude of the Britons to the emperor, for his various instances of lenity just mentioned,—aided perhaps by the exalted ideas, which the magnificence of the imperial person, attendants, and armaments, had impressed upon them,—was so extraordinary and unqualified, that they erected a temple to him in this town, and honoured him as a god.\* As this erection was much aided,

mixed together; and though these had not the name, yet had they the privileges of colonies. Of the latter kind, Bishop Stillingfleet concludes London to have been; which was *nobile emporium* in the time of Tacitus, (*Tac. Ann.*) having so soon experienced the advantages of its situation for trade, and its consequent attractions to a concourse both of Romans and natives. (*Bp. Stillingfleet's Discourse of the True Antiquity of London*, p. 533, &c.)—The planting of the colony at Camulodunum is said to have been commemorated by a medal of Claudius; having, on one side, the emperor's effigy, with the inscription, TI. CLAVD. CAES. AVG. GER. P.M. TR. P. XII. IMP. XIIX. : reverse, a plough drawn by an ox and a cow yoked, driven by a man; to represent the ceremony of describing with a plough the circuit of the intended station: above, COL. CAMALODON. AVG. (*Camden.*)—The spelling, *Camalodon*, however, with other circumstances, would render it doubtful if the *Colony of Camulodunum* were that whose founding was thus intended to be recorded.

\* “*Parum est quod Templum in Britannia habet, quod hunc Barbari colunt, et ut Deum orant.*” (*Seneca. Claud. Cæs.*)—The deriva-

no doubt, if not in great measure performed, by Roman artificers, there is reason to believe it to have been the first regular specimen of the architecture of that nation in Britain. In numerous other respects, the colony soon gave evidence of a refined and luxurious people; for, says an author before quoted, "Camalodunum, the standing court, or palace-roiall, of their (the Trinovantian) kings, was now become the centre of pleasant retirements for the Romans, not the rendezvous of their power.—The outward state of the towne seemed very flourishing. For besides the old palace, and other buildings of the Britanni, (for the Romans, saith Sigonius, did not use to destroy the buildings they found,) it had a senate-house for consultations, a theater for playes, that goodlie temple of Claudius, and, as well they as the rest, undoubtedlie answerable in some measure to the Roman magnificence.—The colonie lay open on all sides, the better to enjoy free walks and aëre about.—Yet safetie was not altogether neglected, though pleasure was rather sought than strength. It had no

tion of Camulodunum from the British Cam-a-läin-uīdun, is so simple and rational, that we should make no allusion to what Camden "darses hardly imagine"—that "this name was imposed upon Camulodunum of the God *Camulus*"—had not the idea been lately revived in an ingenious pamphlet, published at Colchester by E. W. A. Hay, Esq. A. B., on occasion of the discovery of a beautiful monument of Roman Sculpture in the grounds of the Essex and Colchester Hospital. Camden's hardly-ventured inference, is deduced from the fact that Mars was worshipped under the name of Camulus, and from the inscription *Camulo Deo Sancto et Fortissimo*: but we consider Dr. Salmon's suggestion infinitely more probable, that, "as Claudius was deified, and had a temple here,—*Camulo* may stand for *Camulodunum*, according to the Roman practice of cutting words short. And Claudius may be the *Deus Sanctus* and *Fortissimus*," &c.—nay, what can be more likely than that he WAS, if history is only correct in informing us of his deification by the abject Britons?

trench, no palisado, nor other defence, about itself; but it had the majestie of the Roman name (a reputed wall of brasse) the awe of a fresh conquest, and sundrie strengths in the marches, or pale of the province, where the Roman garrisons watcht, and warded, in castles, sconces, and other presidiarie places.”\*

It may be interesting, if we attempt in this place to trace the line of the “sundrie strengths in the pale of the province,” here intended to be alluded to: at the same time that we enquire into the probable truth of those observations of our author, that “the colonie lay open on all sides;” and that it “had no trench, no palisado, nor other defence, about itself.” Camulodunum, at the first settlement of the province, must have stood on the line of the pale, since we do not hear of the conquerors having at that time pushed their successes farther: and it might not be difficult to shew, that, from its earliest occupation by the Romans, it had both natural defences, and was guarded, though but imperfectly, where such did not exist, by works of art. The river Colne was a barrier provided by nature on the north and east of the station: and its shores, near Camulodunum, there is good reason to believe, at various points, and to a considerable extent on both sides, were *morasses*, of which the traces are yet visible. The historian Morant even considers it probable, that the WALLS of Colchester, (of which we shall hereafter speak at large) were originally built by the Romans. But, waving argument upon this point—since, although their area very closely affects the Roman form, many circumstances render it unlikely that they were built so early as the period we are contemplating—the probability remains, that the ancient defences of the British town, the

\* Edm. Bolton: Nero Cæsar, pp. 120, 121.



fosse and earthen rampart, were in being at the time of the imperial settlement; and it is rational to think that the colonists would strengthen and preserve, rather than destroy them. Remains of such defences, which, from their regularity, appear to be either Roman, or to have been re-modelled by Roman hands, are to be seen to this day without the line of wall north of the town.

To enter more fully into the consideration of this subject.—Eastward of the colony, the depth of the Colne, the nature of its shores, and the steepness of the ancient ascent (which even in late years it was found necessary to moderate) to the site of the town, might be deemed to afford sufficient protection. But, northward, the yet existing fosse and mound added to the natural defences of the river, and a wide morass; and similar earthen works are still visible on the western side. On the latter side also, and on the south, were the extensive *castra*, *castella*, and *præsidia*, spoken of by Tacitus, to be mentioned in our description of Lexden, a suburban adjunct to the present town of Colchester. It is to be observed, that the northern and western were the sides chiefly liable to be attacked by the neighbouring Britons: the former, by the Iceni of Norfolk and Suffolk; the latter, both by them, and by the still warlike and powerful Cassi; whose principal seat, since Cæsar's reduction of Cassivelaun, had been the St. Alban's of modern Hertfordshire, which afterwards became the Roman Verulam. The country south and south-westward of the station, the Romans having advanced to the conquest of Camulodunum from the Thames, was in a degree subjected to them; yet, for security against the imperfectly subdued natives of that quarter, strong ramparts were carried from their westernmost works (which extended into the existing Stanway parish) as far

as Mersey Island. The total want of natural defences on the west, accounts for the situation of a most important camp in that direction; at once to serve the purposes of observation, and of shelter in the event of any sudden calamity. And the probability that the coast and county of Essex, as far north and north-eastward as the course of the Colne from Camulodunum to its mouth, were, at the formation of the colony, in the hands of the Romans, may explain why the eastern side of the town was left to its natural defences only; for the west bank of that river was thus possessed by the colonists from their principal seat to the sea; and the difficulty of an enemy's fording it from the opposite shore would increase, from its increasing width and depth, as it flowed onward from the station to its outlet.

In proceeding from the consideration of the Roman defences at or near Camulodunum, to those which may be judged to have guarded the pale of their first-formed province in Britain, a more immediate connection with the history of the town will eventually appear, than may be at first sight evident. Commencing our description of the defensive line at the Colne's mouth on the eastern coast, we repeat the remark, that it was very probably constituted by that river only, until it reached the northern side of Camulodunum. The fosse there formed in addition, whether originally British or Roman, has been alluded to. The river continued thence to be the boundary, until it passed opposite Lexden; from whence ramparts were stretched towards, and ultimately carried beyond it, as far as to the south bank of the Stour. The waters of the latter river were thus made a defence of the colony from the Iceni of Suffolk; and at the time this was effected, which was probably ulterior to the first occupation of the settlement, that angle of

the county which is formed by the Stour, the Colne, and the Ocean, was doubtless added to the province. It appears extremely likely, the northward approaches being thus secured, that the frontier, as it gradually extended, next took a direction nearly due west from Lexden, to where the river Stort divides the present Essex and Hertfordshire. A grand object with the Romans would naturally be, to take up their defensive positions upon rivers of such a degree of magnitude, as, in the then state of the country, would render their waters themselves no mean defences from the attacks of the rude inhabitants. The Colne ceased to be a river of this description at Camulodunum; nor was there another calculated by situation to form a natural boundary and protection of their conquests from the Icenii, nearer than the Stour; nor, from the Cassi, nearer than the Stort. To this latter river, therefore, they constructed a road, or military *Stone-way*; from which the parish of *Stanway*, adjoining Lexden, yet takes name. This military way they very probably defended, at proper distances, by camps and forts for garrisons; although, (the present road through Coggeshall, Braintree, and Dunmow, to Bishop's Stortford, having long since run upon or very near its line,) the hand of cultivation and improvement has in great measure effaced their remains. However, both at Coggeshall and Dunmow, and at the seat of Lord Maynard near the latter place especially, numerous vestiges of the Romans have been discovered. But, near the Stort, upon the Essex side, at the distance of about two miles south from Hockerill, commences a complete series of Roman works; which, taking a southward direction, and keeping the eastern side until beyond the junction of the Stort with the Lea, afterwards cross the stream, apparently from the conceived

necessity of connecting the chain with a town of so much importance as Trinovantum. We shall trace this series of defensive works in detail; observing, by the way, that, at nearly its commencement, it very naturally falls in with the *curvilinear* frontier, before surmised to be that of the Trinovantes from the Cassi.

The first, is that just mentioned as situated about two miles south from Hockerill. It appears to have been a *Camp*, of oblong form; and is at present known by the name of WALL-BURY. About five miles lower on the river, at a place called Latton, are evidences of the ancient existence of a *Station*; which, from its being seated on an eminence, that would seem to have been formerly almost surrounded by the waters of the Stort, was at first, it is probable, a British strong-hold, and was only improved to their military purposes by the Romans. In the contiguous fields, appears to have been situated a regular Roman town, from the number of coins, and other antiquities, both Roman and British, that have been discovered on the spot, at the depth of a few feet from the surface. Every circumstance connected with these discoveries, tends to shew, both that this was one of the earliest settlements of the imperial conquerors, and that they retained it for a very long period. The British coins are principally those of Cunobeline, (another evidence in favour of the line assumed to be that of the Trinovantian frontier;) while the Roman series commences with Claudius, who formed the province, and is carried down to Valentinian.\* About a mile north-east of this station, are to be seen the remains of Roman build-

\* An extremely fine head of Silenus, in bronze, was of the number of the antiquities found here: it is now in the possession of the Earl of Guildford.

ings, formed of brick and flint-stones, which were discovered about three years since by some labourers, in making a ditch.

Crossing the Lea, after it has received the waters of the Stort, opposite Broxbourne, we at this place again meet with Roman military works; and the like occur at Cheshunt,\* where, in a field called Kilsmore, is to be seen part of a vallum, with its regular fosse of an oblong figure. Lastly, the traces of such are still visible in the fields near Islington; at a distance from London, or Trinovantum, not greatly differing from that of the grand western camp of Lexden, from Camulodunum. Until within a very few years, these latter works gave the figure, in a very perfect state, of the *prætorium*, with other features, of a Roman camp: the object of constructing which, may be presumed to have been the security of the station Trinovantum. For it is not likely, though it has been supposed, that they constituted a mere temporary or night-encampment of a Roman army; since there yet exist contiguous embankments, appearing, from their direction, to have connected these with other and probably more extensive works, whose purposes must have been foreign to those of a simple night-camp.

But to resume our historical details, from which we have wandered in the pursuit of hypotheses, that, like the similar productions of so many antiquaries, may by many be esteemed mere *difficiles nugæ*; though such labours, even when directed to objects the most apparently trifling, are seldom without a degree of interest and utility, when they tend to illustrate facts, but very darkly presented to us by the historic page.

Plautius being recalled about the year of Christ 48,

\* Domesday-Book gives evidence of the Roman origin of this place, in the appellation of *Cestre-hunt*.

and P. Ostorius Scapula appointed to the pro-prætorship in his room, those of the Britons who had not as yet learned the full terrors of a contest with the Romans, presuming upon the supposed unwillingness of Ostorius to take the field, with troops unknown to him, in the beginning of winter, (which was the season of his arrival,) began to make fierce incursions upon the conquered parts of the island, as well as upon such native tribes as had entered into alliance with the Romans. But Ostorius, by active measures, soon put an end to these hostile movements; and secured the fruits of his successes by disarming all whom he suspected, and placing garrisons to watch their future conduct.

Such garrisons were thorns in the sides of the subjected, and even of those who had been the friendly Britons. Of the latter class, the Iceni, inhabiting the counties now called Norfolk and Suffolk, were most disgusted at the new rigours of their haughty allies; and this warlike people found but little difficulty in forming an offensive league with the adjoining nations against their former friends. Vain, however, proved this, and every other such effort of the natives against too powerful a foe: Ostorius obtained new triumphs; and, to maintain his once again extended conquests, the veteran colonists at Camulodunum were transported to the borders of the Silures, or inhabitants of South Wales. But they either returned, it would appear, to their first station, or else that others were placed there in their room.

Nothing of interest relative to the colony, occurs until the pro-prætorship of Suetonius Paulinus, the fifth who held that office in Britain, and a man of singular conduct and reputation. His first warlike exploit, (A.D. 61.) was the reduction of the Isle of Anglesea, at that time the

usual resort and hiding-place of the vanquished Britons; who, being now driven from the farthest boundary of Wales, could alone retreat to this last residence and shelter of the ministers of their religion, the Druids. But while he was employed in this distant conquest, the Iceni once more rose in arms; and drew over the British inhabitants of the Roman province, together with some other nations, to engage in one common revolt. The chief causes of this insurrection, of which the effects gave so terrible an example to the Romans, of what men, driven to desperation by wanton tyranny, will do for revenge and freedom, were as follow.

The Iceni, until late events, had been allowed to retain their own king: and Prasutagus, their last monarch, long famed for his riches, had left the Roman Emperor co-heir with his two daughters: hoping, by this expedient, to secure those princesses in the possession of at least what he bequeathed to them; and his kingdom from the encroachments of those ambitious neighbours, whose immediate vicinage, and daily extended power, afforded him just reason for regarding the future with apprehension. But the consequences of these precautionary measures, were the reverse of what had been anticipated. Under pretence of taking possession of the Emperor's inheritance, the Roman Procurator, together with the centurions, their servants, and under-officers, in the absence of their superior Paulinus, inflicted all possible indignities upon the family of the deceased king. Boadicea, the afflicted widow, resenting their insolence and extortion, was ordered to be scourged like a slave; and the chastity of her daughters was violated. As if the whole kingdom had been left to the absolute disposal of the Romans, the chiefs of the Iceni were deprived of their paternal estates, and

the relatives of the royal race in particular treated as the meanest of slaves. In fine, the territory of the Iceni became a perfect Roman province, placed under the authority of one of the worst and most rapacious of the imperial governors.

The Trinovantes also, or old inhabitants of the province, had not been without strong causes for complaint, especially since the Procurator Catus had been in office. Besides, they could not help regarding the colony at Camulodunum as the standing badge of their slavery to a foreign power; and the temple of Claudius as a fortress, built to ensure their perpetual bondage, whose rapacious priests would not abate their demands for its support, until the ruin of the people they pretended to serve by religious offices, became the consequence of their unrestrained greediness. With little persuasion, therefore, were they induced to join the league against their enslavers; and the extirpation of the colony was on all hands resolved upon.

Meanwhile, the Romans at Camulodunum were struck with consternation at the danger impending over them. Their Pro-prætor, and the main body of their army, far from them; and their Procurator unable to afford them more than a very feeble assistance; they abandoned themselves to despair, and took not even the precautionary measures of adding to the incompetent defences of the town its walls, nor of sending away their aged, women, and children. Neither were prodigies wanting, to increase the general alarm: preternatural events and appearances were related, both among the Romans and the Britons; serving as greatly to encourage the latter, as to strike terror into the hearts of the former. Tacitus\* is particular in his

\* *Annals.*



mention of these wonders. The statue of the goddess Victory at Camulodunum, he tells us, without any visible cause, fell down, and turned backward, as if yielding to the enemy. Enthusiastic women foretold the approaching destruction. Strange noises were heard in the council-house; howlings resounded in the theatre; and an apparition was seen in the æstuary of the Thames, of a colony destroyed. Moreover, the sea looked bloody; and, in the ebb, effigies of human bodies were left on the shore.

In the midst of the universal confusion and dismay, arrived intelligence that the Britons, headed by Boadicea, the intrepid queen of the Iceni, were in full march for the Colony, and sweeping all before them. Even then, though their fate so evidently depended upon the vigour and prudence of the measures to be at the moment resolved upon, distraction continued to pervade the councils of the Romans: so that they availed not themselves of the solitary refuge remaining to them in a place not regularly fortified, that of their *Camp* at *Lexden*; in which, it is very probable, they might have withstood the torrent of the enemy, until such time as succours should arrive. Thus, notwithstanding all the information received beforehand, they were surprised in the town; the Britons surrounding it on all sides, and entering, with little difficulty, wherever it had been left unguarded. In this terrible exigence, the garrison threw themselves into the temple of Claudius; which, after a little less than hopeless defence of two days, they were compelled to surrender at discretion. Catus, the Procurator, whose covetousness, and the consequent hatred of the province, had been one main cause of this calamity, was already fled into Gaul: and Petilius Cerialis, Lieutenant of the ninth legion, coming to the

assistance of the colony, was routed; his infantry put to the sword; though he himself, with the horse, exerted sufficient generalship to escape to the Camp, in which he actually appears to have maintained himself until the return of the Proprætor. Being thus victorious on all hands, the Britons gave a loose to vengeance; slaughtering, without remorse, their late oppressors; and mercilessly destroying every monument of the Roman sway at Camulodunum.

Animated by these successes, Boadicea resolved to lead her troops to the destruction of all the other imperial stations in Britain. In pursuance of this resolution, she marched along the military *Stone-way* already spoken of as the probable boundary of the province at its formation; bending her vengeful steps towards the chief town of the Cassi, which the Romans, in the time of Plautius, had converted into their well-known *municipium* of Verulam.\* The military way,

\* A *Municipium* was a town, whose inhabitants had been made honorary citizens of Rome, without any abridgement of their former liberties, or alteration of their original laws and internal government. (*A. Gellius*.)—The advancement of Verulam, at the early period just spoken of, to the peculiar honours of a free city, although imputed to its attachment to the Roman government, and the essential aids it afforded the Romans arms, is a circumstance, certainly, that strikingly intimates its previous consequence. However, we cannot subscribe to the opinion entertained by some antiquaries, that it was the chief seat of the Cassi, and capital of Cassivellaun, prior to the overthrow of that monarch by Cæsar; for had it been such, why had not the Cassian king, then recently triumphant over the Trinovantes, made Verulam the metropolis of the united kingdoms, rather than Camulodunum; which latter must either have been already his Cassian capital, or else but little known to him, as situated, in regard to Verulam, beyond the heart of an hitherto hostile territory? But, not to revert to the consideration of a point, already discussed somewhat at large, it may be sufficient to remark, that the prosperity

which we last noticed as stretching from Camulodunum to within a short distance of the fort of *Wall-bury*, had been conducted onwards to the municipium; and thus had every facility been unintentionally afforded, by the Romans themselves, to the retributive attacks of the Queen of the Iceni. Verulam was pillaged, and destroyed: its inhabitants slaughtered: for the Britons, Tacitus expressly says, fatigued not themselves with attempting the reduction of the small garrisons in the forts;\* but, leaving them unattacked, as they had done Petilius Cerialis in the castrum at Lexden, they hastened to the weaker though wealthier places, there to execute their purposes of plunder and a cruel revenge.

Trinovantum, by Latin authors at this time first styled Londinium, was the next object of attack. Being of inferior consequence to Camulodunum, it was not as yet dignified with the appellation of a colony; but was already famous for the number of merchants who resorted to it, and made it the seat of their commerce and their wealth. The route pursued by Boadicea to this town from Verulam, can only be surmised; but there are several circumstances leading to the conclusion, that it could not have been direct. Perhaps it was at Verulam the Britons first learned, that Suetonius, the Pro-prætor, was hastening to the relief of the province; for, with the mingled precipitation, irresolution, and fear,

of Verulam, and its ready alliance with the Romans, which had been the chief source of that prosperity, were now the causes of its fall; for these were the main stimulents to the cupidity, and desires of vengeance, that animated the army under Boadicea.

\* By these forts may be meant those lately alluded to, as the probable defences of the Stone-way that constituted the Britons' line of march.

that usually accompany such barbaric enterprises, they would appear to have retreated, in the first instance, from the Roman General, whom notwithstanding, they afterwards boldly attacked; and, agreeably to the established predilections of their race, to have determined that their *post for defence* should be in the *Forest* of Essex, since successively called that of Waltham and Epping. To accomplish this object, they would naturally take the road described by Newcome\* as an "original Roman" one, through Enfield Chace, called the Camlet Way; and which appears to be the same with that supposed by Mr. Clutterbuck† to have "connected Cheshunt with Verulam." This road would conduct them to the grand line of the Ermin Street; whence they might make their way, crossing the Lea river, to the spot they seem to have made choice of, between the modern Waltham and Epping, at which to intrench themselves. For at this spot, are the traces of an ancient Camp, called Ambreys, or Ambersbury Banks, conjectured to have been of British origin, and which tradition indeed ascribes to Boadicea.‡ But, hearing nothing farther of

\* History of the Abbey of St. Alban.

† History of Hertfordshire.

‡ "This intrenchment is now entirely overgrown with old oaks and horn-beams. Its figure is irregular, rather longest from east to west, and on a gentle declivity to the south-east. It contains nearly 12 acres, and is surrounded by a ditch, and high bank much worn by time; though, where there are angles, they are still very bold and high. There are no regular openings or entrances, only in two places, where the bank has been cut through, and the ditch filled up very lately, in order to make a straight road from Debden Green to Epping market. The boundaries between the parishes of Waltham and Epping, run exactly through the middle of this intrenchment." (*Gough's Camden*.)—In a field not far from this camp, whose situation is near the 15th mile-stone, was found a very curious gold coin, certainly British, and apparently of about the age of Cunobeline.





Suetonius, their first intention of attacking London would revive. Perhaps the road they then selected, after recrossing the Lea, was part of a Roman way, which, it has been conjectured, was formed along the line of the Stort, and of the forts we lately particularised; leading, at Bishop's Stortford, from the Stone-way, by Wall-bury, Latton, Broxbourne, and Cheshunt, to Enfield; at which latter place it joined the Ermin Street, and thence conducted to London. It is certain that no trace of a Roman or other ancient road, has ever been discovered in what is now called Epping Forest; through which, presuming that the Britons marched from Boadicea's Camp to London, they must have proceeded, had they not taken the road just supposed. This whole account of the probable motions of the Britons under the Queen of the Iceni, after their destruction of Verulam, is unconfirmed, we grant, by any passages in Roman authors; yet, unless we conceive of their having made some such *detour* upon their march, it is not easy to imagine why Suetonius, whose road from Anglesea lay through Verulam, did not intercept their progress, and attack them before they reached London, since his first object was to preserve that place from their fury. His arrival at London before the Britons, must prove that, had they taken the same line of march, he could have met with them had he thought proper; and the inference is natural, that, as he did not so meet with them, their route must have been different from his own, and was probably concealed from him. The suppositions we have ventured upon, will clear many difficulties: they will account for the fact, that Suetonius, though he was beyond Verulam when the Britons marched from thence, was enabled to reach the point at which both armies ultimately aimed prior to their arrival; and they will explain the subse-

D

quent steps of the Pro-prætor, when, finding it expedient to sacrifice London to the general safety, he chose a spot for engaging the enemy, which he must have passed at a very small distance on his way from Verulam; and at which therefore, had the Britons advanced by the same road, he could have at first engaged them, and rendered so costly a sacrifice unnecessary.

With a courage and self-possession truly admirable, Suetonius had fought his way through hostile nations, until he arrived, as has been said, at the chief commercial town of the Trinovantes. Here he was at first indetermined whether to abide the coming of the Britons, or, by resigning this one place more to their fury, to render their eventual destruction the more certain and complete. He determined upon the latter course; recollecting the smallness of his force, in comparison with the enemy's; and the advantage the latter would derive from their numbers, in so irregular a contest as must have ensued from his defence of the town. His determination being made, the tears and intreaties of the inhabitants for his continuance among them, proved unavailing: London was destroyed; together with all who remained in it rather than follow the Roman general, or who, from weakness of sex or age, were unable to accompany him. At this last stage of their merciless progress, the Britons exceeded, if possible, their previous cruelties; putting to the sword, burning, hanging, crucifying, and, by every other method they could devise, consigning to destruction every Roman, or ally of the Romans, who fell into their hands. Taken altogether, not less than 70,000 persons, it is computed, were slain by the insurrectionary army, from the commencement of its hostile movements until the close of its terrible career.



The position taken up by Suetonius, in expectation of the general engagement that at last took place, we have little doubt, was the intrenched *Camp* near Islington, before spoken of. Any person who has visited the elevated spot occupied by the remains of this *Camp*, will readily admit, that no situation in the neighbourhood of London could afford a more advantageous position, either for security, or as a post of observation for an army, awaiting an attack from an immensely superior force.\* But, ere the actual approach of the Britons, the Roman General appears to have abandoned this position, in favour of a spot of ground, described by Tacitus as accessible but by a single narrow passage, and defended in rear by a wood; being sensible that, thus situated, he should have an enemy in front alone; while, the plain being open, there would be nothing to fear from ambuscades.† The complete victory which en-

\* Of the extent of this *Camp*, when perfect, it is impossible at the present day to form a correct idea; but we have already hazarded an opinion, that it was greater than would have answered the purposes of a temporary or mere night-station, especially for so small an army as that of Suetonius, which did not exceed 10,000 men. The principal remaining portion of these works, until the soil was disturbed to obtain the quantity of brick-clay and sand beneath its surface, consisted of a *Prætorium*, which, in situation, form, and size, exactly corresponded with the description of the General's tent given by Polybius, in his account of the Roman method of castrametation. The site was an exact square of about 200 feet; the breadth of the surrounding fosse from 20 to 30 feet, having been made irregular by encroachments upon the embankment. The fosse was about 10 or 12 feet deep, for the most part filled with water, and overgrown with sedge: from the latter circumstance, the field in which was this *Prætorium*, probably acquired its present appellation of the *Reed-Moat Field*.—Vide *Nelson's History of Islington*.

† “ Deligitque locum arcis faucibus et à tergo silvâ clausum; sæpe cognito, nihil hostium, nisi in fronte, et apertam planitiem esse, sine

sued, justified the sagacity of this eminent commander: the Britons, whose force has been variously estimated at from 120,000 to 230,000 men, lost not less than 80,000, it is said, in the engagement, and the merciless slaughter which followed it: while Boadicea, unable to endure the agony of despair to which she was reduced by so unexpected and overwhelming a disaster, put a period to her life by poison.

From this period, by far the greater part of South Britain submitted quietly to the imperial yoke. Camulodunum was re-edified after its late terrible destruction; and that in a more magnificent manner, it may be presumed, than it had been at first decorated with the ornaments of architecture by the conquerors. The

*metu insidiarum.*" Mr. J. Nelson, in his History of Islington just referred to, observes, upon this passage: "the situation of the valley that lies between the acclivity of Pentonville and the high ground about Gray's Inn Lane, will not, on inspection, be found any thing at variance with the description of Tacitus; and an opinion may be fairly hazarded, that the scene of action was confined to this place, in the immediate vicinity of *Battle-Bridge*." The same author conceives the spot last-mentioned to have taken name from this identical conflict; just as a place in the East Riding of Yorkshire is called *Battle*, from having been the scene of that between Harald Haardred the Norwegian and Harold King of England, immediately before the Conquest; and as the town of *Battle* in Sussex, is so named from the great contest that there took place, between the same Harold and the Conqueror. Morant imagines the scene of this important battle to have been in the neighbourhood of the *British Camp*, between Waltham and Epping, lately described: but it must be remembered that this Camp, in ancient British times, must have been far within the thicknesses of the *Forest*, which then extended itself beyond the rivers Lea and Stort into the present Middlesex and Hertfordshire; and which even yet preserves a remnant of its mighty shades in the former county, in *Enfield Chase*, which, it is well known, was originally forest-land.

*Walls* also, whose *plan* is so distinctly Roman, were originally erected, we may imagine, at this period, to defend the colony from any future attacks of the Britons.\* During all the contests for the purple that followed these events, the Roman forces in this island generally remained inactive. The power of the conquerors continued to extend; till at length, under the pro-prætorship of Julius Agricola, Wales was effectually subdued, and the bounds of the Roman province, northward, were the ramparts he raised between it and Caledonia. Incited by the same politic governor, not less than able commander, the Britons, as we are informed by his historian and son-in-law, Tacitus, began to build temples, forums, and elegant houses; and to assume the Roman fashions and dresses; the toga, or gown, in particular, being in his time commonly worn among them. By degrees, too, those incitements to debauchery, porticoes, baths, and banquets, were introduced; and became but the too pleasing accompaniments of that slavery, of which they were in reality the badges.

Britain, from henceforth considered an integral and important part of the empire, was no longer governed, as it had lately been, by consular or pro-consular deputies, but was accounted presidial, and appropriated to the emperors, as having been annexed to their authority subsequently to the division of the provinces by Augustus. More effectually to keep it in subjection, four legions at least were generally quartered in the

\* "The general form of the stations which were purely Roman," (says Mr. Clutterbuck in his *History of Hertfordshire*) "such as *Colchester*, *Chesterton*, *Castor*, near *Norwich*, &c. &c. was either square or oblong."—The walls of *Colchester* describe a regular *oblong*, with the exceptions of the *curves* at the terminations of their right lines in place of *angles*.

island; in the neighbourhood of whose stations and garrisons arose considerable towns and cities, still frequently to be distinguished by the Saxon termination *cester*, or *chester*, (borrowed from the Latin *castrum*,) to their modern names. Of the magnificent buildings, with which the colonies in general were adorned, Camulodunum, if we may judge from the immense quantity of Roman materials, from the ruins of which so many of its public edifices, still standing, were erected, received a more than ordinary share. And we may confidently imagine, that, as this was the first, so it long flourished as the most important and best civilized of the colonies; and that its inhabitants, in every liberal accomplishment, vied with the most polished natives of the other provinces of the empire.

But we are not to suppose the island to have been so perfectly subjected, but that various British princes were allowed to retain their petty sovereignties, as sub-governors, or tributaries, to the imperial power. Of these, Coel I., whose territory is conceived to have lain between the Thames and the Channel, dying, left his son Lucius, or Lhes, his successor. Lucius, we are told, was surnamed *Levermaur*, the great light, from his having received, and very much encouraged the spread of the gospel, within his jurisdiction. In the reign of Coel II., the empire was distracted by the contentions of not less than thirty aspirers at the imperial dignity: six of these, namely, Lollianus, Victorinus, Posthumus, the two Tetrici, and Marius, are supposed to have been governors in Britain; as their coins, in great numbers, have been found in and near Colchester.

From Coel II., it has been very plausibly inferred that Colchester derives its modern appellation. For, being prince or governor, under the Romans, of the

territory south of the Thames, which had been committed heretofore to the first Coel and to Lucius, he seized a favourable opportunity to acquire the sovereignty of the whole country now known as Essex, Middlesex, and Hertfordshire; or, possibly, having before governed these counties also under the imperial authority, he now, taking advantage of the distractions that pervaded the empire, established himself as their independent monarch; made this town, which he repaired and greatly adorned, the seat of his government; and gave it the name of Kayr-Coel, signifying the town or city of Coel. The Saxons, it must be believed, if we follow up this idea, conveyed a corresponding meaning, when they added to the name of Coel their Latinical corruption *cester*, or *chester*; but at the same time intimated, through this latter term, their knowledge that the place had been a Roman station. Some authors, however, have imagined the true derivation to be from the Latin COLONIA, coupled with the Saxon addition; and have conceived that the name of the *river* on which the town is built, as being more easily deducible from Colonia than Coel, favours their supposition. We are inclined to allow more weight to the first part of this argument, than to the last; since there are *several* rivers of the name of Colne in Britain, all of which could not have derived their appellation from the contiguous establishment of Roman colonies upon them.

The Colchester Chronicle\* gives an account of some transactions of this period, which, though not mentioned by Roman writers, are neither all, nor equally, impro-

\* This brief Chronicle is entered at the beginning of an ancient record-book belonging to the town, called the Oath-Book. From the style of the writing, it appears to have been penned at about the commencement of the reign of Edward III.

bable. It fixes the commencement of Coel's usurped authority in the year 238; and proceeds with the following among other (somewhat more romantic) particulars:—

A. D.

- 242. Helena, daughter of Coel, born in Colchester.
- 260. Constantius, the Roman General in Spain, sails to Britain, and besieges Colchester, (which continued to be held by Coel against the Romans.)
- 264. The Siege is raised; Constantius betrothing Helena.
- 265. Constantine, (afterwards Emperor, and sur-named the Great) son of Constantius by Helena, born before the solemnization of the nuptials.
- 299. The Emperor Constantius died at Eboracum, (York) in the 16th year of his reign.

The facts thus recorded, have been disputed by several writers; from whom we think it but fair to quote the following observations.—“As to Constantine being born in Britian,” said Mr. Gough, “this rests only on the testimony of British authors: all the continental ones fixing the place of his nativity in other places, or passing it over in silence. Even all that has been advanced about King Coel, rests upon such weak authorities, that it can hardly pass for truth in any degree: otherwise, one might suspect that if such a person existed, his true name was Cælius, and that he was a Roman; for, allowing Helena to be his daughter, which is by no means clear, how should the daughter of a Briton have a Greek name?”—Agreeably to the eloquent author of the “Decline and Fall,” the elevation

\* Additions to Britannia, Vol. II. p. 58.

of Constantine to the rank of Cæsar, and admittance to the sovereign power, preceded his recovery of Britain from Allectus, who had assassinated Carausius, and usurped his dignity. Long previously to that event, therefore, if the historian is to be credited, he must have been married to Helena, from whom he was divorced on his second marriage with the daughter of Maximian, and at which period Constantine was eighteen years of age. Gibbon farther denies that a British king was the father of Helena, who he thinks it more probable was an innkeeper at Drepanum, a town on the Gulph of Nicomedia; and he supports the claim of Naissus, in Dacia, to the honour of having been the birth-place of the first Christian emperor. Again he says: "our English antiquaries were used to dwell with rapture on the words of his panegyrist: '*Britannias illic oriendo nobiles fecisti.*' but this celebrated passage may be referred with as much propriety to the accession, as to the nativity, of Constantine."—Notwithstanding these learned opinions, we really conceive the balance of argument to be in favour of the truth and consistency of the facts cited from our Chronicle. The constant tradition of Colchester has been, that Helen was the daughter of Coel II., who, as governor or king of this district, first revolted against the Romans, and afterwards became tributary to them; and that Constantius being sent hither to reduce him to obedience, became enamoured of Helen, and had by her his son Constantine, whom he adopted immediately upon his marriage. This tradition is preserved in the old British memoirs, handed down to us, in a very confused and imperfect manner, it is true, by Geoffrey of Monmouth; and is followed not only by our most ancient English historians, but by numerous authors of other nations,

who wrote at different times, and of whom not less than *seventy* are cited by a writer professedly on this subject.\* And the dearth of information relative to Constantine in the Latin authors, since it cannot disprove, tends rather to confirm, the voice of tradition, and of an existing record, both which coincide in regard to facts, stated by them to have taken place upon the spot at which themselves are extant. Colchester, it must be confessed, "is very unfortunate," as Morant observes, "in having two such potent adversaries, as the most learned Dean Gale, and his learned son Roger Gale, Esq.; the former of whom would place Camulodunum any where but here, and the latter is for depriving it of the honour of having given birth to Constantine the Great:"—nor is her misfortune the less, now that the names of Gough and Gibbon must be added to the hostile list:—still, the simple yet cogent observations of Bishop Stillingfleet alone, are, with us, nearly sufficient testimony on the other side. Speaking of the passage cited from the panegyrist by Gibbon, the Bishop says: "there is no reason to decline the most natural and proper sense, (of the word *orior*) viz. that he (Constantine) brought a great honour to Britain by being *born* in it." And speaking of another very remarkable passage in the panegyric—'o, fortunate Britain! and now happier than the rest of the earth, which first saw Constantine Cæsar!'—he says, "if this were Constantine's *own country*, this was done like an orator: if not, to what purpose is all this? And then he parallels Britain with Egypt, where Mercury was born; which shews that he spake of the place of his *nativity*."

\* Michael Alford, alias Griffith, in his "*Britannia Illustrata, sive Latii, Helene, Constantini, Patria et Fides*," 4to. Antwerp. 1644.



But not to cite authorities at much length upon a question, in regard to which few may feel a very lively interest, we proceed to the most remarkable circumstances in the life of Helen; to whose memory the inhabitants of Colchester, for a very long period, shewed a particular attachment. She is related to have been the most beautiful British woman of her time; skilful in music, and adorned with every other acquired, as well as natural female accomplishment; for her father, being without other children, had given her such an education as seemed best calculated to render her an ornament to the government she seemed destined to fill. However, she was divorced by Constantius, from political views, when he was declared Cæsar, in order to his marrying a daughter-in-law of the reigning emperor. Having been converted to the true religion by her son, the first Christian emperor, Helen became eminent for works of piety and charity; and at length, when nearly fourscore, determined upon an expedition to Jerusalem, to indulge the desire she had long felt of seeing a place, made so memorable by the sufferings and death of the Saviour. On her way, she dispensed very considerable gifts to individuals, towns, and societies: and, arriving at Jerusalem, found, say the early ecclesiastical writers, the sepulchre of Christ covered with earth by Heathen hands, and a temple, dedicated to Venus, built over it. By her orders, the temple was pulled down, and the earth removed, with a view to the erection of a magnificent church upon the spot. While the workmen were preparing the place for the foundations of the intended structure, they discovered, as the same historians tell us, on the 3rd of May, 319, three *Crosses*, being the identical ones on which Christ and the two thieves had suffered. Overjoyed at the possession of such

a treasure, Helen sent a part of the cross of Christ, as a most valuable present, to her son, but left the remainder at Jerusalem. The death of this pious princess is related to have taken place at Rome, in the presence of Constantine, on the 18th of August, 327. From her asserted discovery of the cross, the arms of Colchester, which are a cross between three coronets, originate; and, in various ways, the initial ornaments, &c. to the charters, and other public documents, of the town, continued long to bear reference to Helen, and to her envied high fortune at Jerusalem. To the same cause, is to be attributed, as some have supposed, that *cross-like* peculiarity in the disposition of the principal streets, which we alluded to at the commencement of the present chapter.

The religion of Christ was planted in Britain even in the apostolic times, and very probably by St. Paul. However, its progress in this island was slow; since Lucius, before-mentioned, being desirous of instruction in its tenets, was obliged to send messengers to Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, (A. D. 167.) desiring him to dispatch some persons to his court, who might become his teachers. Such persons were sent accordingly; and from them, Lucius, and many others, received baptism, and an increased knowledge of the principles of Christianity. The same prince is said to have founded the church of St. Peter, in Cornhill, London; and to have constituted it an archiepiscopal see, of which Thean, or Theon, was the first archbishop. Allowing the correctness of this statement, we may fairly gather from it, that both Lucius and his father Coel I. were governors under the Romans of Middlesex, and perhaps also Essex, as well as of the country on the opposite shore of the Thames; and that Coel II. did little towards extending

the sphere of his sovereignty, beyond rendering himself independent of the Roman government.

The Emperor Constantius secretly favoured the propagation of Christianity; but his son Constantine, it is well known, publicly professed it, and enacted laws for its protection and encouragement throughout the empire. And when, in process of time, episcopal or archiepiscopal sees were established in not less than twenty-seven considerable cities in Britain, that of Kayr-Colon, or Colchester, was undoubtedly among the number. But the names of the Bishops of this town, are not recorded; nor is any mention made of them until the year 314, when three British Bishops are said to have been present at the council of Arles; viz. Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelfius of the city Colon. That Christianity flourished, after the time of Lucius, in this particular city and neighbourhood, for a series of years, may be reasonably presumed; especially under the auspices of Constantius, and Constantine the Great, and through the encouragement afforded it by the pious Helen, who founded the chapel in Colchester that still bears her name.

From Constantine were derived, not merely the more complete establishment of the Christian religion in Britain, but various civil regulations, intended for the general government of the empire, but which had more or less reference to the concerns of this island, and to those of the first Roman colony established in it. Dividing the whole empire into four præfectures, namely, Italy, Gaul, Illyricum, and the East, and subdividing these into fourteen large provinces, Britain, one of the fourteen, became subject to the Præfect of Gaul, and was governed by Vicars, or Deputies, the first of whom was named Pacatianus. Under him were two Consular

Deputies, answerable to the number of provinces (Britannia Prima and Secunda) into which the island had been divided by the Emperor Severus; and three Presidents, who determined all civil and criminal causes. But a farther division of Britain was made by Constantine into four parts; viz. *Britannia Prima*, bounded by the Thames, the Severn, and the British Channel; *Britannia Secunda*, comprehending what is now called Wales; *Flavia Cæsariensis*, the midland parts, which included Colonia-Camulodunum; *Maxima Cæsariensis*, all the northern parts to the wall of Severus.

The military government of the empire being entrusted to two Generalissimos, one for the East, the other for the West, Britain was naturally placed under the Generalissimo for the West. To him were subject, the Count of Britain, the Count of the Saxon Shore throughout Britain, and the Duke of Britain. The *Count of Britain* had the care of the inland parts of the island; the *Count of the Saxon Shore* was appointed to guard the eastern and southern coast from the Saxon pirates; and the office of the *Duke of Britain*, was to defend the borders, or marches, from the incursions of the Caledonians, Picts, Scots, &c. The standing Roman force under these commanders, amounted to about 19,200 foot, and about 1,700 horse. The other principal officers established here, were the Count of the Imperial Largesses, who distributed the Emperor's gifts, or largesses, and had various officers under him; the Keeper of the Privy Purse, subject to whom was a Private Auditor; and the Vicar's court swarmed with officers, who too generally enriched themselves at the expence of the province. The chief seat of government in the island, at which the Vicar and his court, and many of the officers above mentioned, would re-

turally reside, appears to have been London; whose more favourable situation for commerce having at length raised it to a degree of importance exceeding that of the original settlement at Camulodunum, it had become the *Augusta* of the Romans in Britain.

Several of these latter particulars are not immediately connected with the History of Colchester; yet a view of the Roman authority here, even as regards this town, is not complete without them. But the Roman affairs, from this period until their final departure from the island, having little or no relation to their ancient colony, need not be dwelt upon: it being of importance only to notice, that, in common with the natives in general of the eastern coasts, the inhabitants of this district were continually exposed to the piratical invasions of the Franks and Saxons; the audacity and frequency of whose depredations, not less than those of the Picts and Scots, increased with the rapid declension of the empire, until the last-mentioned barbarians became triumphant in every corner of Britain upon its fall.



## CHAP. II.

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FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS IN BRITAIN,  
TO THE DEATH OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

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**BRITAIN**, no longer defended by the legions of Rome, was reduced to so miserable a condition by the ravages of its northern invaders, that famine, and the absolute starvation of numbers, ensued. But these horrible distresses themselves occasioned a temporary alleviation of the calamities which had produced them; for the barbarians discontinued their incursions, when they found the utterly devastated country incapable of yielding them advantages, commensurate with the fatigue and danger of new enterprises. Favoured by the natural fertility of the soil, the inhabitants turned this respite to so good an account, that an unusual and universal plenty succeeded; during the continuance of which, they formed themselves into a number of separate and independent governments, each under its particular king. There are no authorities extant, informing us to which of these kingdoms the part of the island in which we are chiefly interested was attached. Luxury, and a general dissoluteness of manners, that had been introduced and encouraged by the policy of the Roman government, proved the next scourges of the degene-

rate Britons; and these excesses, as if by way of punishment from Providence, were followed by so dreadful a pestilence, that survivors are said to have scarce remained to inter its victims. At the same time, the Picts and Scots once more prepared themselves for a southward irruption; and once again did the Britons implore aid from the Romans against an enemy they so greatly dreaded. But their most passionate intreaties could not then be regarded; the terrible Attila, with a host of barbarous followers, having entered the empire, which he was widely ravaging. Thus destitute of foreign assistance, the Britons adopted the common resource of their ancestors on occasions of national danger: they elected, from their various monarchs, a supreme head, to whom all the petty princes were to be subservient, and by whom they were to be led against the expected foe.

Their choice fell on the incapable Vortigern, King of the Dunmonii, who was raised to this important dignity in the year of Christ 445. He, it is almost needless to repeat, devised an inglorious expedient to free himself of the northern invaders—that of calling in the SAXONS to fight his battles—an expedient, through which himself, and the whole country, were ultimately reduced to be the slaves of his intended allies. In the wars which ensued between the Britons and their treacherous friends, the latter, being nearly uniformly triumphant, committed the most dreadful ravages, and unheard-of cruelties, upon the people whom they had arrived to defend. Their rage was especially directed against those monuments of art, the best legacy of the Romans to the island, which, being unable to appreciate, they despised: and thus were the edifices of that refined people at Colchester, Verulam, and the other stations, reduced to heaps of ruins, from which after



ages continued long to substract the materials of new structures. The Saxons were pagans: the priests of Christianity, therefore, says the venerable Bede, were commonly martyred at the very altars; the Bishops slain, without respect, together with the people; and scarcely Britons enough left remaining to bury their dead. Numbers, who had fled for refuge to the mountains, were pursued, and slaughtered in heaps: others, to avoid death by starvation, became the slaves of their destroyers: others, again, fled into foreign lands for safety. The miserable few, who embraced neither of the last alternatives, led a wretched and wandering life, in perpetual hurry and apprehension, amidst the woods and mountains. The settlement of the conquerors in the several provinces of *East-Seaxe*, *Middel-Seaxe*, and *Sud-Seaxe*, (as named and formed by themselves,) happily put a period to these horrors in the districts comprehended within their boundaries, which included Colchester as part of *East-Seaxe*.

To trace the rapid extension of the Saxon sway, until it ended in the extirpation nearly of the old inhabitants of Britain, together with the establishment of the Heptarchy, would be foreign to our purpose. But, since the bases of our constitution and language, great part of our common law, and many of our existing customs, more particularly our municipal ones, were of Saxon original; it may be useful, as well as interesting, to trace the manner in which this people settled and governed the states of their formation in our island; some elucidation of which, indeed, enters as properly into the history of an individual corporation, as of the kingdom at large.

The Saxon colonists, when they quitted the country of their birth, in order to relieve it of its superabundant

population, and seek new settlements, entered into a species of partnership with each other; from which it resulted, that the territories they acquired were the property of the collective body of the conquerors. None, therefore, had a fixed inheritance in his lands; all occupied them by turns; but, in the division of them, regard was had to the dignity and eminence of the occupiers. They consisted, universally, of four distinct classes, or orders, of men: *æthelingas*, or nobility; *freoliga*, freemen, or rather inferior nobility; *frioletan*, freedmen; and *lazzos*, or *ceorls*, slaves. From the chief nobility they chose *ealdormen*, or governors, and, upon their settlement of any considerable territory in the island, kings. The power of the latter was very limited at first; though, for their honour and maintenance, they received from every man, subject to their jurisdiction, an assigned proportion of cattle or corn; a custom, in which originated fees, and feudal tenures. The freemen were the *Thanes* of the second and third classes; the *æthelingas*, or nobility by pre-eminence, constituting the first: in these inferior classes, were included merchants, artificers, and countrymen, possessed of estates capable of being conveyed by will, or otherwise. The thanes of the first class became, in subsequent times, *Barons*; and those of the second and third, *Lords of Manors*: the latter were also barons in an inferior sense, though not *barones regis*; as their Anglo-Saxon predecessors had been ordinary thanes, but not king's thanes: from the baronial privileges of the lords of manors, arose their power to hold *courts-baron*. The condition of a freedman, among the Saxons, was but one degree above that of a slave: he was of no consideration in his master's house, and was never employed in any public office. Of the slaves, some were perfectly such, and

reckoned part of their owner's substance: others were so far free, as to be allowed the management of their own houses and families, though compelled to furnish their lords with certain quantities of grain, cattle, and apparel. Their princes, or *gerefas*, determined matters, relating to the community they governed, by their own authority, provided they were not of importance; but in affairs of moment, it was the right of every freeman to be consulted in common council. They had general assemblies on certain days; in which they sat armed, and were silent at the injunction of the priests, who presided in those councils with coercive powers. When the king, governor, or other exalted personage, in a persuasive rather than a commanding manner, delivered his sentiments, if they were disliked, the assembly testified their disapprobation by a rude and confused noise; if, on the contrary, they met with general approval, the spears of the warlike multitude were rustled in concert, which was the most honourable assent that could be given to them. Accusations were preferred, and trials for capital crimes held, before such general councils. Punishments were proportioned to offences: traitors, and deserters, were hung on trees: infamous persons, and *sluggards*, suffered death by drowning. Mulcts of horses, or cattle, were imposed for more trifling crimes; part of which accrued to the *gerefa*, or the state, and the remainder to the injured party, or his relations. In the same assemblies were chosen *cent-graves*, *bur-graves*, &c. to administer justice in the several territories, towns, and villages. To each of these officers were attached a hundred assessors, or associates, who formed his council, and added to the dignity and force of his authority. In the burghs, or chief towns, the community of burgesses exercised prerogatives and powers, exactly

similar to those which afterwards pertained to the *comes*, (or earl,) and lord of the manor, within his county or manor; and, being generally lords of the district of which the burgh consisted, they exercised therein both a judicial and legislative authority. The chief magistrate of the burgh, was stiled *burgrave*, or *burgmester*; or, if it were a port or harbour, *port-gerefa*, which was afterwards contracted into *port-grave*, and *port-reeve*. When the Heptarchy was formed, a great council of the nobility and thanes, or freemen, was established in each of the seven kingdoms; and a general one for the whole of them, which became the model of our present Parliament. Both the heptarchical and general councils were called *wittena-gemot*. The several courts and assemblies of the *tything*, *hundred*, *trything*, *shire-gemot*, or *folk-mote*, *burgh-mote*, &c., were introduced by the Saxons; as were the present allotments and boundaries of most of our parishes, and even the present names of many of them.

Essex and Middlesex were at first governed by a deputy appointed by the famous Hengist, who had assumed the title of King of Kent; but on the formation of the kingdom of the East Saxons, or Essex, in the year 527, Colchester was naturally included within its jurisdiction. England was not yet divided into counties, but hides; of which latter, the kingdom of Essex was computed to contain 7000. This kingdom comprehended not merely the present county of Essex, but also Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire; forming a district, whose extent corresponded in some degree with that of the ancient kingdom of the Trinovantes, and still more with the modern diocese of London. Its principal cities were London, its capital, afterwards the metropolis of England, and Colchester. The founder

of this kingdom was Erchenwin, son of Offa; who was descended from Woden, the common parent of the Saxon kings. Our ancient historians relate nothing of him, beyond his name and pedigree: probably, he was governor of the two provinces north of the Thames under Octa, King of Kent; and took advantage of the weakness of his superior, to assume the regal authority. He died in the year 587. His successors in the throne of Essex were, Sledda; Sæbyrht; Saxred, Siward, and Sigebriht, who reigned jointly; Sigebriht the Little; Sigebriht the Good; Swithelm; Sibbi, and Sighere; Sigehard, and Senfrid; Offa; Selred; and Swithred.

Sæbyrht, son and successor of Sledda, was the first *Christian* king of the East Saxons. He was converted, A. D. 604, by the preaching of Mellitus, who had been sent by Augustine the monk to spread the knowledge of the gospel in his kingdom, and more particularly at London. He was besides greatly influenced to the profession of Christianity by the example of his uncle Æthelbyrht, King of Kent, who had built the church of St. Paul, London; on which occasion, the see was removed thither from St. Peter's, in Cornhill; and Colchester, the County of Essex, &c. were made part of the metropolitan diocese. Sæbyrht himself was the founder of the church and abbey of Thorney, west of the capital, which for that reason was named *West-minster*; and was famed, until his death, for piety, and zeal for the interests of religion. His successors, however, banished Christianity from the East-Saxon kingdom; until Sigebriht the Good restored it. This prince, being convinced of the absurdities of paganism by his intimate friend, Oswi, King of Northumberland, whom he used frequently to visit, was persuaded by the same monarch to make open profession of the Christian faith, and was baptized by Finan,

Bishop of Lindisfarne. Cedd, a priest, who had been sent by Oswi to preach to the East Saxons, became their bishop; and by him churches were erected in many places, and priests and deacons consecrated to assist him in the work of the ministry. After the death of Swithred, the last King of Essex above-mentioned, we have no account of the monarchs of this kingdom; whose history is confessedly the most imperfect of any in the Heptarchy. We are only informed, that after Kent had been conquered by Ecbryht, or Egbert, Essex, with the other kingdoms, submitted to him, A. D. 823, and that thus was established the monarchy of England. Under Ecbryht's successors, Colchester, and the former territory of Essex, were subjected to few changes; especially after the entire kingdom had been regularly distributed into counties, hundreds, ridings, wapentakes, and tythings, by Alfred, so justly styled the Great; divisions, that had gradually grown into practice under the predecessors of that monarch, and were by him matured and perfected. But new calamities had overtaken the island prior to the reign of the hero and sage, to whom law and liberty, through all succeeding times, have been so deeply indebted: new ravagers had been tempted by the prosperity of the inhabitants, the amenity of the climate, and the fertility of the soil, to hapless England; and, like the Saxons whom they attacked, and whom they now surpassed in warlike arts, they were destined to subdue and to possess it.

The DANES of this period inhabited not only the country now called Denmark, but parts of the coast of Holland, and of Norway. Thus favourably situated for acquiring the science of navigation, they became very powerful at sea; and greatly addicted themselves, as had done the Saxons before them, to piracy. They ravaged,

in turn, nearly all the coasts of Europe; but especially those of England, France, and the Low-Countries. Their first descent upon England was in the west, and in the year 787: on the eastern side of the kingdom, their earliest incursions were in the Isle of Sheppey, which they plundered in 832; and they took up their winter quarters in the same island in 854. In 838, having landed in Lincolnshire, they over-ran that county, all East Anglia, and Kent; including within the sphere of their ravages, amongst other considerable places, Colchester, London, Canterbury, and Rochester. They wintered among the East Angles (i. e. in Suffolk and Norfolk,) in 866; but they do not appear to have at that time entered Essex, but on the contrary to have spread themselves northward and westward. King Ethered fought nine pitched battles with them in 871: but they still kept their ground: and having reduced the whole of East-Anglia to subjection in the course of the eight following years, they settled there under the government of Godrun, or Gothrun. This chief had embraced Christianity, and entered into a treaty with Alfred, who then reigned, having just recovered the major part of his dominions, after secreting himself for a while in the Isle of Athelney. However, by the terms of this treaty, the Danes retained quiet possession of more than a third of the kingdom: their territory comprehending the whole country north of the Humber, and of the late kingdom of Mercia; together with Essex, as bounded on the south and west by the rivers Thames and Lea. Renewing their hostilities with Alfred, he deprived them of London, which he repaired and fortified; and Godrun dying in 890, our eastern district also reverted, nominally, to the English king, who made Bertheolf its Earl.

On occasion of every future irruption during this reign from the country of these barbarians, the Danes previously settled here constantly assisted them in distress, or accompanied them in their predatory marches, from the mere love of plunder and enterprise; and this, notwithstanding positive engagements entered into with Alfred to the contrary. Kent, Essex, Middlesex, and the midland counties, were the scenes of repeated conflicts with these treacherous and merciless invaders; which, together with a pestilence that occasioned many of them to retire into France, so thinned their numbers in this country, that their resident brethren thought it most advisable to make submissions to the English monarch, and acknowledge him as sovereign of the whole island. But his death, in 901, occasioned fresh troubles, which more particularly affected this town and the surrounding territory.

His son Edward, surnamed the Elder, succeeded to the throne; but Æthelwald, eldest son of Ethelbriht, Alfred's elder brother, resolved to dispute the crown with him; and for that purpose landed in Essex, with an army of Danes and Normans, who quickly made themselves masters of this part of the country. Essex, it appears, notwithstanding the re-establishment of Alfred's titular authority over it in 890, had continued to be possessed by a Danish population; and these, it is very probable, agreeably to their custom, united with their invading brethren at this opportunity. But Æthelwald being slain, and the Normans returning home, King Edward not only compelled the Danes here settled to acknowledge his sovereignty, as they had done that of his father, but re-possessioned himself of the greater part of the county; although Colchester, by the assistance of its fortifications, was retained by them. It



remained in their hands until 921; when a large army of English, collected from this and the neighbouring counties, besieged and took it; putting to the sword all its inhabitants, with the exception of a few who escaped over the walls; so that Edward is thought to have found it necessary to re-people the town with a colony of West-Saxons. In revenge for this success, the Danes of East Anglia, (Suffolk and Norfolk,) taking some pirates to their aid, laid siege to Maeldune, (Maldon) which, together with Witham, Edward had rebuilt and fortified: but, multitudes coming to the relief of the place, they abandoned the attempt, and fled, suffering the loss of many hundreds slain in their retreat. In November of the same year, Edward came to Colchester, and repaired the damage that had been sustained by the walls in its recent capture by his subjects. At which time, he probably conducted hither his West-Saxon colony; while many, who had long been in the foreigners' power, both in the northern parts of Essex, and in East Anglia, together with the Danish armies in that province and at Cambridge, submitted to the English king, and swore fealty to him.

For seventy years following, the tranquillity of England remained undisturbed. Then, however, the Danes, landing in Suffolk, plundered Gypeswic, (Ipswich;) the forces sent against them being unable to prevent their ravages. To relieve the country of their presence, Siric, Archbishop of Canterbury, projected the unwise expedient of a large pecuniary bribe, to be raised by a tax called *Danegeld*; which naturally operated as an inducement to future invasions. Only two years afterwards, they again pillaged Gypeswic; and thence, passing by Colchester, which they probably were not strong enough to attack, they advanced to Maeldune;

where, having overthrown Byrhtnoth, ealdorman to king Æthelred, that inglorious monarch concluded a dishonourable peace with them. Again, in the year following, after a vain attempt upon London, they plundered the coasts of Essex, Kent, &c. and wintered at Southampton. During not less than twenty-four subsequent years, they repeated these ravages with fire and sword, and committed the most horrible barbarities.

At length, the resident Danes still continuing on all occasions to assist their countrymen, Æthelred, with a cruel and eventually useless policy, resolved upon their general massacre; which was mercilessly executed on the 13th of November, 1002. Preparations for as sanguinary a revenge were the natural consequence; and in 1009, a large band of Danish adventurers anchored in the Thames; where they passed the winter, deriving their subsistence from incursions upon this and the adjacent counties. By the end of the year 1011, they were become masters, not only of Essex, but of Middlesex, East-Anglia, and twelve counties besides: and the decisive battle of Assandune, or Ashdon, near Bartlow, in 1016, fixed the Danish dominion over England for the next half-century. During which period, nothing of importance is recorded relative to this town, or neighbourhood.

The year 1066, was the era of the NORMAN CONQUEST. That extraordinary revolution undoubtedly made some alteration in the Saxon constitution and laws; but not so great or general a change in them, as was well observed by Morant, as some have imagined: for "the Normans and Saxons were originally of the same stock, and therefore may be supposed to have agreed in the essentials of government and policy." We cannot, however, coincide in opinion with the same

historian, when he says, "the generality (of the Saxons) that would submit and be quiet, had nothing taken from them, and were far from being treated like a conquered people." Mistakes, on both these heads, appear to have arisen from neglecting to separate the points of view, in which the *Acquisition* of William I. (as in many senses we object not to call it) was, and was not, a *Conquest*. While history in general has been content to give it the latter appellation, various writers have contended for its total impropriety: but the truth appears to be, that the term is improper chiefly in regard to the time of its application, and to supposed changes in the forms of the government, which in reality it did not effect.

The *Conquest* achieved by William, was, in the first instance, simply that over Harold and his Saxon army. He then mounted the throne by a species of convention, to which the chiefs of the people he came to govern were parties; and he took the coronation-oath that had been customary with the Saxon and Danish kings. And, had it been safe or politic in him to continue his reign in the spirit of moderation with which it was begun, the transference of the crown from the head of Harold to his own would have been the only essential change consequent upon his elevation. But the dislike of the English to a foreign king, and their various insurrectionary movements, together with the highly feudal partialities of those Norman followers in whom alone he could place confidence, concurred to render despotism William's only prudent resource. Therefore, to become despotic, he displaced his English subjects from all offices of trust and power, and conferred those offices upon his own creatures: he constituted himself liege-lord of the entire English territory; and

parcelled it out to Norman barons, holding of the crown by that system of military tenures, whose strength, as an arm of feudal power, had been but imperfectly understood in the Saxon times: and, to complete the ascendancy of his sub-lords over their several districts, he instructed them to raise fortresses for their domestic seats, with which in a short time the face of the country was covered. Thus, in the end, he effectually *conquered* the tamed and submissive people, if to have obtained the absolute disposal of their lives and properties were a conquest. But, though he made some changes in the letter of the Saxon laws, and still more in their spirit, during his administration of them; the legal institutions of the kingdom continued to be mainly Saxon, though committed to Norman superintendence, and perverted on all occasions to the purposes of Norman will. Municipal institutions, universally, there is reason to believe, underwent the slightest alteration: to these, indeed, though unintentionally, was committed the renovation, in future times, of Saxon freedom: for, favoured by the liberties such institutions conferred, the inhabitants of the cities and boroughs continued in the practice of those commercial and trading pursuits, from which wealth and increased population naturally resulted: and, from wealth and population, flowed that consequence in the state, which procured for citizens and burgesses, not less than the barons of Norman descent, a share, by representation, in the national government.

Many of the towns and burghs, in the Saxon times, were demesnes of the king, or of some other territorial lord. The major part of Colchester was in the crown in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and consequently in that of William I.: under the latter monarch, its civil government was still probably committed to a

Port-reeve, who, doubtless, was a Norman. Either by the tyranny of this officer and his dependants, or by the immediate acts of the king, numerous inhabitants of this burgh had their estates condemned, and their persons outlawed: notwithstanding which, and though the lands of these unfortunate victims lay waste, the taxes were as rigorously exacted as when all was in its former state of cultivation and improvement. From which specimens of the blessings of Norman authority, it may be rationally inferred that the townsmen of Colchester, at least, considered themselves as "treated like a conquered people." But the general state of the town in the time of the Conqueror, best appears from that venerable record called Domesday-book; the substance of which, so far as relates to this place, is as follows:—

The number of the King's Burgesses who paid rent, ("the same," says Morant, "as *fee-ferm*\* rents, which is the reason of the many fee-farms paid even now to the King's Receiver") was 276; who had 355 houses, and 1296 acres of land, besides 51 acres of meadow.

The Bishop (i. e. of London) had in Colchester 14 houses, and 4 acres, paying no rent but scot, unless to the Bishop. Hugh held of the Bishop, 2 hides, and an acre, for which he paid rent. There had been always (i. e. pertaining to the Bishop) 2 carucates in demesne, 1 plough-land for the tenants, 2 villans, 11 bordars, 1 servant, and 6 acres and a half of meadow: at the time of the Survey, 1 mill, formerly worth 40 shillings, but then 50.

Hamo, Dapifer, or Steward of the King's Household, had 1 house, and a *court*, or hall; (from which it may be conjectured that to *him* the government of the town had been confided;) 1 hide of land; and 15 burgesses; holden by his predecessor Thurbern in King Edward's

\* *Ferm*, signified rent; and *fee*, perpetuity, or perpetual.

time; all which then paid rent, except the hall: the burgesses still paid so much per head; but nothing for their arable land, or the hide they held of Hamo: in the hide there was 1 carucate, or plough-land, in K. Edward's time; but, at the time of this Survey, none. Hamo also had 6 acres of meadow. All which, in K. Edward's time, were worth 4*£*. which was also paid afterwards: but, when the Survey was made, only 40 shillings.

Mansune, 2 houses and 4 acres. Goda, 1 house. Eudo, Dapifer, (for Normandy,) had 5 houses, and 40 acres of land; which the burgesses held in King Edward's time, and paid all the rent usually paid by burgesses, but, at the time of the Survey, they paid only by poll. All this, with the fourth part of St. Peter's church, (which belonged to Eudo) paid 30 shillings.

Hugh de Montfort, 1 house, which his predecessor, Godric, held in King Edward's time, and which then paid rent, but, at the time of the Survey, none.

Roger Pictaviensis, 1 house, which his predecessor Alfet held in King Edward's time, and which then paid the King's rent, but, at the time of the Survey, did not, nor had done since Roger had possessed it.

Earl Eustace, 12 houses, besides one which Engelric had seized. In King Edward's time they paid the King's rent, but, at the time of the Survey, did not, nor had done since Eustace had enjoyed them. They were worth 12 shillings.

William, the Bishop's nephew, 2 houses, which Turchil held, and paid rent.

Otto the Goldsmith, 3 houses, lying at Esceldeforde, which the Countess Alueva held, when they paid the King's rent, but, at the time of the Survey, did not. This was part of the Queen's land.

The Abbot of Westminster, 4 houses, which Earl

Harold held at Ferigens, when they paid rent, but, at time of the Survey, did not.

Goisfrid de Magnaville, 2 houses, which Geny at Erlige held in King Edward's time, when they paid rent, but, at time of the Survey, did not.

Sueno, 1 house, which Goda held at Elmestade in King Edward's time: it then paid the King's rent, but, at time of the Survey, only head-money.

William de Wateville 1 house of his own name, which Robert Wimarc held in King Edward's time, when it paid rent, but, at time of the Survey, did not.

Turstin Wiscard, 3 houses of John Fitz-Waleram, and half a hide of land, which two burgesses held in King Edward's time, when they paid the King's rent, but, at time of the Survey, none. The half-hide, in K. Edward's time was worth 10 shillings, but then only 5.

Ranulf Piperell, 5 houses, which Ailmar at Terlinge held in the time of King Edward, when they paid rent, but, at time of the Survey, did not: one of them was without the Walls.

Radulf Baignart, 1 house, which Ailmar Melc at Tollensum, held in King Edward's time, when it paid rent, but, at time of the Survey, did not.

The Abbess of Berchingis, 3 houses: they paid rent in King Edward's time, but, in that of the Survey, did not.

Alberic de Ver, 2 houses, and 3 acres of land, which Ulwine his predecessor, held in King Edward's time, when they paid rent.

The King's demesnes in Colchester: 102 acres of land, of which 10 were meadow, and wherein were 10 bordars; besides 240 acres between pasture and heath. All this was let to ferm by the King.

In common among the burgesses: 80 acres of land,

and 8 perches round the Wall; of all which the burgesses had 60 shillings a year, for the King's service, if need were, if not, to be divided in common.

And the custom was, for the King's burgesses to pay yearly, fifteen days after Easter, 2 marks of silver, which belonged to the King's ferm. Likewise 6d. a year out of each house; which might be employed either for the maintenance of the King's soldiers, or for an expedition by sea or land; and it was to be paid whether the King had soldiers, or undertook an expedition. For which sixpences, the whole city paid, in King Edward's time, in lieu of all debts, 15*£*. 5s. 3d. a year. Of which, the Moneyers (or Coiners) paid, in the time of King Edward, 4*£*.; but, in that of the Survey, fourscore pounds, and 4 quarts of honey, or 40 shillings and 4d.: besides 100 shillings fine to the Sheriff; and 10s. 8d. for the maintenance of Prebendaries.

Moreover, the burgesses of Colchester, and of Meldune, paid 20*£*. for the *privilege of coining money*, which was settled by Waleram. And they appealed to the King, that he had remitted them 10*£*. And Walchelin, the Bishop's tenant, demanded of them 40*£*.

The Church of St. Peter was held, in the time of King Edward, by two priests, for a small quit-rent.\* Belonging to it were 2 hides of land, in which were 2 plough lands; 4 bordars; 2 servants; 12 acres of meadow; 1 mill: and 2 houses: the whole valued, in King Edward's time, at 30 shillings; in that of the Survey, at 48 shillings. Of the quit-rent, Robert Fitzralph, of Hatinges, claimed three parts, and Eudo Dapifer the fourth.

\* *Elemosina Regis*: it is said to have been a Penny, which King Æthelred first ordered to be paid for every plough in England, towards the support of the poor.



Any apology for the length of this extract from so curious a picture of the period to which it relates, will scarcely be thought necessary. What chiefly deserves remark, in reference to our subject, is the amount of the exactions imposed upon the town by the Conqueror, in comparison with what is stated to have been paid in the reign of his predecessor Edward. The universal change of property, since the time of the Confessor, in the houses not included in the list of those occupied by burgesses paying the crown's quit-rent—and the Norman names of the great men who enjoyed them, under William, with an exemption from that rent—are circumstances equally eloquent as to the oppressions that had been practised upon the one class of subjects, and the partialities which were shown the other. It may be left to the candid reader to say, whether or not all this, together with the many minor abuses practised upon the inhabitants by the great men themselves, amounted to the tyranny and insolence of a *Conquest*.



### CHAP. III.

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HISTORY OF COLCHESTER. FROM THE ACCESSION  
OF WILLIAM RUFUS, TO THE COMMENCEMENT  
OF THE SIEGE IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.

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THE history of Colchester, from the period to which we are now arrived, merges into that of the kingdom in general: many previous national events, besides being less minutely known to most readers, had a particular reference to this ancient borough; but, henceforward, the introduction of such would be impertinent. The historical particulars to which, therefore, we shall for the future solicit attention, will relate to the town exclusively.

The reign of William Rufus presents us with nothing remarkable concerning it, except that it was by him committed to the government of Eudo, *Dapifer*, or Steward, (for Normandy, as Hamo was for England) of whom some account is given under the head of St. John's Abbey, which he founded. Having possessions in the town, which he derived from the Conqueror, as enumerated in our extract from Domesday-Book, as well as numerous lordships in the county, he was previously known to the inhabitants; and, from the estimation in which he was held by them, his appointment to their

government was at their own especial request. Shielded by his authority, they hoped no longer to be subjected to the vexatious tyrannies experienced during the late reign; and it is only justice to his memory to say, that their expectations were not disappointed.

Placed under immediate Norman government, we have reason to believe that Colchester very speedily and conspicuously improved in point of architectural decoration. The *Castle*, the original foundations of most of the existing *Churches*, and frequent and costly reparations of the *Walls*, are all with justice ascribed to Norman ascendancy. Under the same auspices arose a princely *Abbatial Convent*, a *Priory*, and various less considerable monastic houses. Some public edifices, and mansions for the wealthy, were also reared, in a style previously unbeheld, and probably unconceived of, by the more simple Saxon inhabitants. The gradual prevalence of the pointed order, and its adoption not only in conventual and church building, but in that of the principal private houses, gave an aspect at once of dignity and religious gloom to the town in general. But, with regard to the domestic architecture of all but the highest ranks, its slow progress in this and every town in the kingdom, the metropolis not excepted, may be a reasonable source of surprise. The Britons introduced timber dwellings, thatched with straw, or reeds; and the houses of the major part of the population of England, in the reign of Edward I., continued to be of the same materials. Nay, similar was the construction of very numerous habitations even until the era of the Fire of London; and, in every other part of the kingdom, timber-building, though under great improvements, was continued long afterwards.

Henry I. granted letters-patent to the tenants of his

manor of Colchester. These letters are known to have been preserved among the town-records until the reign of Elizabeth; but have been since lost: a loss to be deeply regretted both by the historian and antiquary.

In the reign of Stephen, and in the earlier part of that of Henry II., the town was let in ferm to the Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire: the custom of letting, at the king's pleasure, having prevailed generally with regard to the towns and burghs. But, before the close of the last-mentioned reign, that of letting in fee, or, as it was usually called, in fee-ferm, to the men or burgesses of the respective towns, was introduced; and, in process of time, became prevalent over all England. Colchester, in the 32nd and 33rd of Henry II., was thus let to the burgesses at a yearly fee-farm of 42*£*., which in those days was a very considerable sum. Out of this practice arose the property of the burgesses in the *Manor of the Corporation*; a property, which Morant spoke of as in his time "almost unknown and lost," though he was persuaded that "there was such a thing. In reality, "the manor of this, as of most other great towns, "(as said the learned Browne Willis, in speaking of Bedford) "is held from the crown by the corporation, by virtue of ancient grants:" that is to say, by grant of the crown, in consideration of the fee-farm rent, the burgesses became lords of the soil which was heretofore the royal manor, and could re-grant any parcels of it (a right they actually exercised in numerous instances) to be held at the will of the Bailiffs and Commonalty. In the beginning of the reign of Henry II., the burgesses were also in possession of King's-wood Heath; but, for reasons not particularly mentioned, that monarch afterwards took it into his own hands again.

By the first of Richard I. the manor had reverted

to the crown; or, possibly, was resumed by him *pro forma* in order to its restoration by charter, at the same annual fee-farm, along with the grant of various liberties and immunities. For, this first charter of the town was conferred in the same year; and laid the foundation of those distinguished privileges, which were confirmed, with many enlargements and additions, by succeeding kings.\*

The reign of John, and his obstinate contests with his barons, occasioned the temporary occupation of this town, in 1215, by a hostile force. Saher de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, having brought an army of foreigners into the kingdom, laid siege to Colchester Castle; but, hearing that the Barons at London were hastening to its relief, he withdrew to St. Edmund's-Bury. However, either his or some other armed party soon afterwards became possessed of the place, and plundered it, as they had done Ipswich, and other towns: but the king, after a few days' siege, retook it. In the following year, at the commencement of the reign of Henry III., the banner of France floated from the Castle walls. Lewis, son of Philip II., having entered England at the barons' invitation, made himself master, not only of Colchester, but of all the eastern parts of the kingdom: but his ambitious projects were defeated by the course of events, and the country saved from becoming a province of France, not less than which it is supposed he meditated.

The era of Edward I. is chiefly remarkable, as regards Colchester, for the large sums that monarch obtained from the town, in common with the nation in general, to meet the expences of his warlike government. The records, preserving the particulars of these various assessments, are yet extant; and from them it

\* See Part II. chap. v.

appears, that fifteenths were levied upon the town and liberties in the 1st., 8th., and 29th., a tallage, to which Colchester contributed 64*£*. 18*s*. 10*d*., in the 4th., and a seventh in the 24th, years of this reign. The roll particularising the assessment of the fifteenth in the 29th. Edw. I., is the most minute and curious: a specimen from it may interest the reader.

“ Roger the Dyer had, on Michaelmas day last, in his treasury, or cupboard, 1 silver buckle, price 18*d*.—1 cup of mazer, (maple) *pr*. 18*d*. In his chamber, 2 gowns, *pr*. 20*s*.—2 beds,\* *pr*. half a mark—1 napkin and 1 towel, *pr*. 2*s*. In his house, 1 ewer with a bason, *pr*. 14*d*.—1 andiron, *pr*. 8*d*. In his kitchen, 1 brass-pot, *pr*. 20*d*.—1 brass skillet, *pr*. 6*d*.—1 brass pipkin, 8*d*.—1 trivet, *pr*. 4*d*. In his brew-house, 1 quarter of oats, *pr*. 2*s*.—woad-ashes, *pr*. half a mark—1 great vat for dying, *pr*. 2*s*. 6*d*. Item, 1 cow, *pr*. 5*s*.—1 calf, *pr*. 2*s*.—2 pigs, price 2*s*.: each 12*d*.—1 sow, *pr*. 15*d*.—billet-wood, and faggots, for firing, *pr*. 1 mark.

Sum, 71*s*. 5*d*.: fifteenth of which, 4*s*. 9*d*. *qa*.

“ William the Miller had, the day aforesaid, in ready money, 1 mark of silver. In his cup-board, a silver buckle, *pr*. 9*d*.—1 ring, *pr*. 12*d*. In his granary, 1 quarter of wheat, *pr*. 4*s*.—1 quarter of barley, *pr*. 3*s*.—2 quarters of oats malted, *pr*. 4*s*.: each quarter 2*s*.—2 hogs, *pr*. 10*s*.: each 5*s*.—2 pigs, *pr*. 3*s*.: each 18*d*.—1 pound of wool, *pr*. 3*s*. &c. &c.

(Sum reckoned at the conclusion, and fifteenth taken, as before.)

“ The Abbot of St. John’s, Colchester, had, the day aforesaid, at Greensted, 8 quarters of rye, *pr*. 24*s*.: at 3*s*. a quarter. Item, 4 stallions, *pr*. 24*s*.: each 6*s*.—4

\* Beds were uniformly of *straw* in this reign, not excepting those occupied by royalty itself.

oxen, pr. 40s.: each 10s.—24 sheep, 24s.: each 12d., &c.

(Sum reckoned, &c. as before.)

“ Robert Lord Fitz-walter had, the day aforesaid, in his manor of Lexden, 10 quarters of rye, pr. 30s.: each quarter 3s.—20 quarters of small oats, pr. 23s. 4d. at 20d. each quarter—6 heifers, pr. 18s. at 3s. each, &c.”

(Sum reckoned, &c. as before.)

And that no degree of poverty exempted the subject from his share in this assessment, is evident from the following, among many other such instances:

“ John Fitz-elias, weaver, had, the day aforesaid, 1 old coat, pr. 2s.—1 lamb, pr. 6d.

Sum, 2s. 6d.: fifteenth of which, 2d.”

The whole number of persons assessed in the town and liberties, was 390; and the whole sum collected, amounted to 24£. 12s. 7d. The assessment was a grant from Parliament of a fifteenth of all the moveables in England, including those of the inhabitants of the cities and burghs; and was raised, within the precinct and liberty of Colchester, on oath of twelve of the burgesses.

In the 6th of Edward II., a tallage was assessed upon every master of a family in this town and liberties, according to the value of his chattels or rents. The number of persons thus taxed, was 518: and the value of the chattels of each person was estimated, not in the minute manner of the subsidy-assessments, but by a gross sum. A twelfth was also levied upon the town in the 13th of this reign.

When Edward III. blockaded the port of Calais with a numerous fleet in 1347, Colchester furnished 5 ships, and 170 mariners, as its quota toward the armament. And after that monarch had gained the famous victory of Cressy, he committed the care of some of his prisoners



to the bailiffs of this town, as appears by his letter, in Norman-French, among the town-records.\* In the year following, a violent plague was very prevalent here; one of whose most striking effects was, that wills, to the unusual number of one hundred and eleven, were enrolled at Colchester, which at that time had the privilege of their probate and enrolment. A second plague ravaged the place and its vicinity, in 1360. And in the same reign occurred an outrageous attempt, made by Lionel de Brandenham, lord of the neighbouring manor of Lagonhoo, which strongly marked the licentious spirit, and propensity to provincial tyranny, too common with the nobles of the period. Incensed at the defeat of all his efforts to infringe upon the exclusive privilege of the town to the fishery of the Colne Water, Brandenham actually besieged Colchester for three successive months, during which the inhabitants were in perpetual alarm from his endeavours to burn it. However, the law, and the authority of the king, eventually found means to subdue the pride and ambition of this turbulent feudal baron.†

The insurrection of Wat Tyler, which took place in the succeeding reign, was abetted by some inhabitants of this town; among whom was the noted John Ball,

\* "Edward p la gr'ce de dieu Roy Dengleterre & de F'n'ce & Seignr Irlanda, A noz Baillifs de nre ville de Colcestre salut. Poroe q' Johan Vangouley nadgaires nre houstage pur la citee de Bloys en Champaigne sen est departiz tout quites de son houstage, hors de nre roialme de nre congie pmy sa fiance de deux cents marcs les queles il nous ad paiees si volous q'vous soiez quites & descharges de la garde dudit Johan & ont desempeschez en temps avenir. Don' souz nre prive seal a Westm' le xx jour d octobre lan de nre regne Denglet're quarante quart. & de F'n'ce,"—(By Writ of Privy-Seal.)

† See Part II. chap. vi.

who styled himself "St. Mary priest of York, and now of Colchester." Upon the death of Wat, and the other ringleaders, numbers, who refused to submit to the king's terms, came hither, and endeavoured to incite the townsmen to new rebellious attempts; but none were found willing to incur the perils of a farther treasonable movement. In the 10th of the same monarch, apprehensions being formed of an invasion by France, a commission of array was dispatched to the town, requiring its inhabitants, and those of the adjacent country, to put themselves in a posture of defence.

During the long contentions between the houses of York and Lancaster, Colchester appears to have embraced the quarrel of the former: for though we have not positive information to that effect, it is natural to infer so much from the infringement of the privileges of the borough by a prince of the one house, and the very ample and valuable charter granted it by a monarch of the other. Henry VI., who visited the town August 5, 1445, for some cause not mentioned in the record which preserves the memory of the fact, made a grant in the following year of its most important right, that of the *fishery*, to his favourite John de Vere, Earl of Oxford;\* while Edward IV., on the other hand, was the munificent donor of the charter above mentioned. The attachment of the burgesses to this latter monarch, was evinced by their custom of not permitting any person to remain in Colchester forty days without swearing fealty to him; and the roll 13. Edw. IV. rot. 19. gives an instance of the presentment of some individuals to the law-hundred court for non-observance of this regulation. It would farther appear, that *pardons*, under the great seal, to the cities and burghs which had taken any

\* See Part II. chap. vi.

part in this civil contest, were things of course from the sovereigns of both houses; such having been granted to Colchester both by the fortunate Edward, and by his predecessors, the Henries IV. V. and VI.

Nothing of importance relating to the history of this town, occurs between the reigns of Edward IV. and Henry VIII. In the 15th of the latter king, recourse to a loan from the subject became necessary to support the expences of the government, notwithstanding the parsimonious Seventh Henry had left the then enormous sum of £1,800,000 in the royal coffers for the use of his successor, to which the parliament had added by very considerable grants. On this occasion, the inhabitants of the borough did "lovingly avaunce to him a-sum by weye of Lone, for the maintenaunce of his Grace and Warys ageynst Fraunce and Scottland," as says the original schedule amongst the town-records; and Henry promised, under his privy seal, "truly to content and repay to all and singuler suche personnes of the Borough of Colchestre—all and singular suche particuler summes of money as have been by theym and every of theym lovingly advanced—amounting in the hole to the summe of One hundred one poundes and foure shilling st."

In 1516, on the day before the feast of Corpus-Christi, Queen Catherine of Arragon came to this town, with a grand retinue, on her way to Walsingham, whither she was going in pilgrimage to the famous image of the Virgin. The Bailiffs, Aldermen, and a large body of the burgesses, met her at Lexden; and thence conducted her in state to St. John's Abbey, at which she staid the night of her arrival, and following day. A purse of £40, at that time considered an offering worthy the acceptance of a sovereign, was pre-

sented to her; to which she made a suitable return. At her departure, the Bailiffs, Aldermen, &c. attended her, in the same state as before, to the farther bounds of the parish of Mile-End.

The year 1544 was distinguished by the following letter, under the royal signet, to the Bailiffs.

“ BY THE KING.

“ HENRY R.

“ Trustie and welbeloved, we greate you well: And wheras betweene us and Themperor, upon provocation of manyfolde Injuries committed by the Frenche King unto us both particulierlie: And for his confederation with the Turke against thole common-wealth of Christendom, It is agreed, that eche of us aparte in persone with his puissaunt Armye in severall parties this soomer shal invade the Realme of Fraunce; And being not yet furnyshed of such ample noomber of men as shall suffice for that purpose; For the good opinion we have in you to see us furnyshed as to our honour apperteyneth, We have appointed you to send us the nombre of xv hable fotemen, well furnyshed for the warres as apperteyneth, wherof three to be Archers, everye oone furnyshed with a good bowe in a cace, with xxiii good arrowes in a cace, a good sworde and a dagger; and the rest to be bill men, having besids theyre bills a good sworde and a dagger: To be levied of your own servants and tenants. And that you put the saide nombre in such a redynes, furnyshed with cotes and hosen of such colours as is appointed for the Battell of our Armye, As they faile not within oone howres warnyng to marche forwarde to suche place as shal be appointed accordynglie. Yeven undre our signet at our Palace of Westm’ the vth daie of June the xxxvith yere of our Reigne.”

Towards the close of this reign, the dissolution of all the monastic establishments in Colchester occasioned a considerable loss to the poor of the town; and, besides depriving the place of its greatest architectural ornaments, was otherwise productive of much present mischief—the harbinger, notwithstanding, of eventual good. Morant, speaking of the destruction at this period of the “stately Church and Abbey of St. John’s, the Priory of St. Botolph’s, the Church and Hospital of the Crouched Friars, &c.,” observes: “the revenues, undoubtedly, came into more useful hands. But, however, pity it is, that *some* of them were not applied to the public benefit of the kingdom; or reserved to make provision for the poor, either by founding a good Hospital in this large town, or by establishing a fund in every parish for their better maintenance. But there were growing families, that wanted to raise large estates at once.—Whatever cause it was owing to, I have not been able truly to discover: but certain it is, that the town went then much to decay; so that twenty-five houses, or tenements, were taken down in Head-ward only, and others were grown very ruinous, for which the owners of them were presented and prosecuted; a thing very uncommon and extraordinary, unless those had been town-houses, which doth not appear.”

The Reformation brought with it a nearly universal unsettling of the minds of men, with regard to religious matters; for, the bases of the ancient doctrine being destroyed, almost every one considered himself at liberty to frame opinions, and a form of worship, conformable to the dictates of his conscience, or, as frequently perhaps, of his imagination. The floodgates of enthusiasm, and polemical contention, were thus set open; and particularly in the reign of the pious Edward

VI., the construction of a general church liturgy under whose authority had not much immediate effect in checking these absurdities. Colchester, among other towns, was eminent for its "schismaticall spirites," as a contemporary author termed them, who "sought to be teachers of that whereof they had no understanding, and thereby turned the knowledge of God's testimonies to vayne and contentious jangling." A certain *Henry Harte* here flourished as a particularly zealous apostle of novel doctrines; and in 1555 (reign of Mary) *Christopher Vitels*, a disciple of *Henry Nichols*, the founder of the "Family of Love," coming from Delft, brought over and spread the knowledge in this town and neighbourhood of his master's, and his own, "straunge opinions." Vitels was a joiner by trade; but "being, as it seemed, weary of his occupation, he left his craft of joignyng, and took unto him a new trade of lyfe: so that of a simple Scholer, he became a great and learned Schole-maister of that doctrine."<sup>\*</sup>

In the short contest for the sovereignty between the Princess Mary and the estimable Lady Jane Grey, Colchester warmly espoused the cause of the former. Messengers, with assurances of loyalty, and a quantity of provisions, were dispatched by the corporation to the Princess at Framlingham; and the town was put in a posture of defence against her opposers. In approbation of the magistrates' zeal, Mary paid a visit to the ancient borough, July 26, 1553. On which occasion, she was very liberally entertained; and 20*£*. in gold, with a silver cup and cover, partly gilt, were presented

\* Confutation of the Family of Love, by W. Wilkinson, 4<sup>o</sup>. Lond. 1579.

to her.\* March 7th following, came an Order of Council in her Majesty's name, to put in readiness 18 armed men, of whom 10 should be archers and 8 billmen, well harnessed and weaponed, to be ready at one hour's warning to embark at Brightlingsey, for the service of her Majesty beyond the seas, at Calais or elsewhere, as should be appointed.

But not all the instances the town had given of devotion to this queen, could preserve its inhabitants, more than others, from the flames which her most detestable bigotry kindled for the martyrs to Protestantism. Throughout the horrible season of her persecutions for religion's sake "the auncient and famous towne of Colchester," to use the quaint language of an author lately quoted, "was a sweete and comfortable mother of the bodyes, and a tender nourse of the soules, of God's children: which towne was rather at that tyme frequented, because it afforded many godly and zealous martyrs, whiche continually with their bloud watered those seedes, which by the preaching of the worde had been sowne most plentifully in the hartes of Christians in the dayes of good Kyng Edward. This towne, for the earnest profession of the Gospell, became like unto a citie upon an hill; and, as a candle upon a candlesticke, gave great light to all those, who for the comfort of their conscience came to conferre there from divers places of the Realme, and repairing to common Innes, had by night their Christian exercises, whiche in other

\* Among other items of the expences incurred through this visit, as recorded in the Chamberlain's accounts for the year, are the following: 38 doz. of bread, 39s. 59 gallons of claret-wine, 48s. A quarter of beef, weighing 5 score and 10 pounds, 9s. 2d. A side of beef, weighing 7 score and 5 pounds, 12s. 1d. A veal, 4s. Half a veal, 2s. 4d. Two muttons, 9s. 4d., &c.

places could not be gotten. For prooffe whereof, I referre the reader unto that which is truly reported by M. Foxe in his booke of Actes and Monumentes: that at the Kynges-head in Colchester, and at other Innes in the sayd Towne, the afflicted Christians had set places appointed for themselves to meete at.”\*

Had Colchester been the only theatre of the martyrdoms dictated by the relentless zeal of Mary, their number would have sufficed to procure for her the execrations of all posterity. The following detail will give ample evidence of the truth of this assertion.—Suffered death by burning in this town, in the year 1555: March 29th, John Lawrence; June 14th, Nicolas Chamberlayne. 1556: April 28th, John Mace, apothecary; John Spence, weaver; Simon Joyne, sawyer; Richard Nichols, weaver; and John Hammond, tanner: and in June of the same year, Elizabeth, the wife of Thomas Pepper, and Edmund Hurst, both of St. James’s, Colchester, were burnt at Stratford-bow. 1557: William Bongeor, of St. Nicholas, glazier; William Purcas, of Bocking; Thomas Benold, tallow-chandler; Agnes Silverside, alias Smith; Helen Ewring; and Elizabeth Folks; were burnt without the town-wall, on the morning of August 2nd: as were in the Castle-yard, in the afternoon of the same day, William Munt, Alice Munt, John Johnson, and Rose Allin. In the same year died within the Castle, John Thurston, a prisoner on account of his religion. About the same time, fourteen men, and eight women, were here apprehended, and, being fastened together in a string, driven, like a flock of sheep, to London; but they were shortly afterwards released “upon their own easy submission.” 1558:

\* A brief Description of the first springing up of the Heresie termed The Familie of Love, &c. by W. Wilkinson.



William Harris, Richard Day, and Christiana George, were burnt at Colchester, May 26th: being the last dreadful spectacle of this kind that took place in the town. Eight others, who were prisoners in the Castle for their religious profession, were released the following year, on the accession of Elizabeth.

The arrival of the persecuted Dutch and Flemings, in 1571, and their establishment here of the *Bay and Say Trade*,\* are the first remarkable incidents bearing reference to Colchester, in the reign of this sagacious and potent queen. The next occurrence worthy notice, is the visitation of a Plague, which commenced its ravages in the town and neighbourhood in December, 1578; and continued with the unfortunate inhabitants until the ensuing August, notwithstanding every effort to prevent its spreading.

Elizabeth took one of her celebrated progresses, through part of this county and that of Suffolk, in 1579, and was at Colchester on the 1st and 2nd of September in that year. The record gives the following orders, as made for her reception. "That the Bayliffs and Aldermen, in the receipt of her Majestie, shall ride upon comely geldings, with foot-clothes, in damask or sattin cassocks or coats, or else jackets of the same, with sattin sleeves in their scarlet gowns, with caps and black velvet tippets. The Councell to attend upon the Bayliffs and Aldermen at the same time, upon comely geldings, with foot-clothes, in grogram or silk cassock coats or jackets, with silk doublets, or sleeves at the least, in the livery morray-gowns, with caps: &c.—That her Majesty shall be gratified from the Town with a Cup of silver, double-gilt, of the value of 20 marks, or £10 at the least, with 40 angels in the same, and the Officers

\* See Part II. chap. vi.

of her Majesty to be gratified as afore they have been. The Recorder for the time being, to make the Oration to her Majesty."

For defence against the enenies of her kingdom, Elizabeth, like her predecessors on the throne, placed her chief reliance on the national militia, whom she was careful to have frequently mustered and exercised. For which purposes, her special commissions, with regard to this town, were generally directed to the two Bailiffs, and a few of the neighbouring gentlemen, who took their musters within the precincts of the borough-liberties. Troops destined to be sent to a foreign country, were always an extraordinary force, especially provided for the purpose; and such were raised for the assistance of the Protestant Provinces in the Low-Countries throughout the kingdom, in 1585. The quota of Essex was 150 soldiers, towards which number Colchester furnished eight.\* The General of this force, Robert, Earl of Leicester, arrived at our town on the 6th of December, on his way to the Netherlands: he was received with

\* The equipments of these eight men, and the expence at which they were furnished by the town, afford a picture of the times that may be deemed curious. Of the eight, six were *Shott*, and two *Pike-men*. Every Shott was provided with "a qualiver of the musket bore, mould and worm for the piece, morian, flask with six charges, flask-leather, touch-box, purse for pellets; all which furniture for each cost 16s. 8d.; for the whole six, £5. And six swords, daggers, and girdles for them, came to 53s. Each of the two Pike-men was armed with a croslet and burgonet, which cost 26s. 8d.: their two pikes came to 6s. 8d.: and their two swords and daggers, with the buff girdles, to 18s.—Besides which, there was delivered to the Captain for conduct-money, for every of the eight soldiers, 6s. 8d.: in the whole, 53s. 4d.: and to every one of the soldiers themselves (besides 3s. 4d.) 26s. 8d. Item, the charges of their eight blue coats, or mandillions, £6 6s. 8d. Total, £21 18s. 8d."

every mark of honour by the magistrates, and splendidly entertained by Sir Thomas Lucas, whose family seat here occupied the site, and was erected from the remains, of the dissolved Abbey of St. John's.

At the very critical period of the expected grand Spanish invasion in 1588, Colchester furnished two ships, and a pinnace, for the queen's service. The largest of these vessels, named the "Foresight of London," was fitted out at the cost, including two months provisions, ammunition, mariners' pay, &c., of 296£. 14s.; the expence of the smallest ship, which was of eighty tons burden, and the pinnace, of eighteen, proportionate. To defray these extraordinary charges, a tax was imposed on all the inhabitants of the borough and liberty, of 2s. in the pound upon goods, and 3s. upon land. When Elizabeth afterwards gave commissions to various officers to retaliate upon the Spaniards, it fell to this borough, by allotment, to find, and furnish with all necessary arms, &c., thirteen common soldiers, and four pioneers; and on the levying of an army to assist Henry IV. in Bretagne, eight able men were raised from each ward, (or thirty-two in all) "from such as might best be spared, and were newly come into the town." Again, in March, 1591-2, fourteen soldiers were equipped for the same service; and several similar instances occurred afterwards. In 1595, Colchester, with the other ports in Essex, was ordered to furnish three ships, for her Majesty's use, at Cadiz: on which occasion the borough paid £200 to the Vice-Admiral of Essex, towards the furnishing of one ship.

For every warlike service to the state, the town had thus cheerfully complied with the queen's demands; with the exception only of a plea of inability which it made in 1591, when, a new order to the ports for ad-

ditions to the navy being anticipated, the corporation prudently remembered the great expences so lately incurred on the same score, and for which it was yet "indebted some hundred and fyfye pounds," and "constrayned to pay use for the same." It must be confessed that Elizabeth made very free and frequent use of the purses of her loving subjects, and even occasionally required what they felt themselves justified in refusing. This was the case with regard to Colchester in 1593; when this ancient borough was for the first time charged with purveyance, or composition-service, for the royal household; which, though it amounted to but £6 annually for the town and liberties, the corporation, considering it a demand inconsistent with their chartered privileges, for some time resisted the payment of. However, towards the end of the year 1595, they were compelled to submit; and for the future assessment of this impost, an account was taken of the lands in the several parishes, which was renewed in 1599.

The only remaining particular of importance, that comes within our notice of this reign, is, that Colchester had the honour of possessing for its Recorder that eminent counsellor to Elizabeth, Sir Francis Walsingham; for whom it ever testified a due regard, and through whose means, doubtless, it was both protected and favoured.\*

\* On several occasions, the Bailiffs dispatched presents of *Oysters*, (generally a horse-load at a time) to Walsingham, and to Elizabeth's favourite Leicester. Their letter, nearly in the same words, to both these personages, accompanying such presents, in 1579, is extant; together with the answers they received from them. The magistrates' epistle is mainly occupied by apologies for some late "divisions and controversyes" in the borough, with an assurance that they were then composed; and a request that themselves and the town-clerk, might be joined in any future commission issuing from the

The inactive sovereignty of James I. affords few materials to the historian of this town. The Plague, which raged at his accession in the city of London, eventually spread itself hither, and swept off numbers: it also appeared here in 1631, and again in 1665 and

court for "affayres within their Towne." The replies were as follow.

FROM SIR FRANCIS WALSYNGHAM.

"After my hartie commendations. I have receaved your letter of the fourthe of this p'nt, and am verie glad therby to understand that all your controversies be so well appeaced and that you be growen to so good an unitie amonge your selves; the continuance wherof I greatly wyshe, as the only thinge that shall make your towne to prosper, and to bee well thought of of all men. Towching your liberties, for that in other Incorporations I have been sometymes so muche standing uppon Charters and Priviledges, that hir Majesties necessarie service hathe therby been hindred, I would not wishe you except it be in some great poynt that may towche your towne deeply to stand uppon them: notwithstanding I will be carefull for the preservation of the same as farre forth as conveniently I maye in the direction of Comissions and all kynd of service from this place. So withe my hartie thanckes for your present of oysters I byd you farewell. From the Court at Greenwich the fyfte of September 1579.

Your verie loving frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM."

FROM THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

"After my right hartye comendacions. I have receyved your l'res and the oysters you sent me, and do very hartilye thanke you for them, and for your often courtesies in visiting me many tymes with the lyke, which as occasion shall serve, I will not forget to requyte. Touching your towne my affection is and shalbe as it hath bene always, viz. very ready to do any thing I may for it, And so shall you well perceyve as any occasion shalbe offred wherein I may stand it in steade. In the mean tyme gladde to heare of your good quyet, whiche I wish longe to continewe, I thus bid you right hartily farewell. From the Court the viith of September 1579.

Your very loving frende,

R. LEYCESTER."

1666. In 1609, the town paid £46 towards an aid for making the king's eldest son, Prince Henry, a knight; and in 1612, £63 6s. 8d. to marry the king's daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, to Prince Frederick, Elector Palatine. Money was also raised here in 1611, under a writ of privy seal: a mode of supply always, and but naturally, unpopular; and now, from the rising spirit of the age, more than ever contrary to the inclinations of the subject. The continual issue of patents and proclamations, were the other most remarkable occurrences in this reign: of the former, a specimen is preserved by Morant, which gave "license, power, and authority," to "Thomas Benne of Colchester in the county of Essex yeoman," to "keepe an Inne or common Hosterie in the house of the said Tho. Benne in Colchester aforesaid." The granting licenses of this kind, was remonstrated against by parliament, but, in common with every similar source of profit to the crown, persevered in by James: notwithstanding, ale-houses continued to be licensed and directed by the justices of the peace for the several districts.—It was customary in this reign, for the corporation to make presents of *sugar-loaves* to persons of rank or eminence, whose influence could procure them favour or protection; a circumstance accounted for by the high price of that article, (from 1s. 10. to 2s. 2d. per pound,) which would appear enormous in our times, if estimated in money of the current valuation.

The opening of the troublous reign of Charles I. was marked by a Spanish war; the effects of which, as regarded this town and county, were frequent panics, occasioned by the appearance of the enemy's fleets off the eastern coast; and considerable expence, to Colchester and Ipswich especially, for provisioning the

military force prepared to resist attack, and for providing the necessary warlike stores, &c. Documents relating to this period, speak of the *trained band* kept in readiness by the corporation, and constantly exercised, to meet the expected danger.

"About the commencement of the year 1627," writes Morant, "forces were transported from these parts to the King of Denmark's assistance; but they went so much against their will, that the militia was sent from this town, to restrain their mutinies." This was the first overt act of opposition to Charles's government, that manifested itself in this part of the kingdom. Popular affection and respect towards the royal authority, had been declining even from part of the reign of Elizabeth; and neither the character nor conduct of James had been calculated in any degree to restore them. In fact, the dictates of the crown had gradually increased in oppressiveness, and exaction from the subject, under the immediate predecessors of the first Stuart that sat on the English throne; and he, while he rather magnified than abated from the pretensions of his predecessors, contributed by his every act of sovereignty to mingle contempt with the dislike that had grown up to all extraordinary exercises of the regal power. Charles I. exalted the popular feeling into hatred of himself and dignity, when he imposed *Ship-money*, to an amount, and with a rigour, unknown before. Prior to his time, its imposition had been *tolerated*, indeed, while the burden of it had been greatly relieved, by the courtesy with which it was demanded, the subject's consideration of the exigencies to which it was to be applied, and the patriotic and loyal ardours that rendered its collection easy. But Charles levied this tax as by inherent right; yet employed it less to its ostensible purposes, than

to the support of a fund for his general expences. The method pursued by him with regard to this, and the other maritime towns of Essex and Suffolk, was similar to that he adopted in most other instances. In 1634, he directed his writ, under the great seal, to the chief magistrates of these towns, commanding them to assess their several jurisdictions with such sums, as should suffice to provide, and equip in all respects, a ship, whose burden should be 700 tons. A subsequent order of council was dispatched, to hasten this levy; and again another, directed to the sheriffs of Essex and Suffolk, in which his majesty was graciously pleased, in consideration that these counties had not a ship of 700 tons burden prepared, to make an offer of furnishing them with one, provided they would cause the full sum of £6615 to be forthwith levied, and placed at his disposal.

The following year, the King thought proper so far to enlarge upon his first requisitions, as to demand the sum of £8000 from Essex alone, to furnish and equip a ship of 800 tons burden; when the proportion charged upon Colchester was £400. But the corporation refused to pay their quota, alleging the tax to be an infraction of their privileges; however, a small sum, in part, was placed in the sheriff's hands. Their delay occasioned a new order of council in 1636. Still, three years afterwards, the levy appears not to have been effectually made; for the town then petitioned the Privy Council to be eased from the payment of so large a sum, on account of the deadness of trade, and for other reasons.

Doubtless, *Ship-money* was a main stimulant to the disaffection, (at first assuming to be a thirst for religious and political reform,) and the eventual insurrectionary



spirit, that very early manifested itself in the eastern counties, and in few places more promptly than in Colchester. In January, 1641-2, a petition was presented from this borough to the House of Commons, complaining against the penal jurisdiction and office of Bishops, and requiring liberty of conscience; desiring that church-discipline might be established according to the word of God,—and the town better fortified. In compliance with the latter request, the Parliament granted £1500 to render Colchester, and the Block-house at Mersey, defensible. But our townsmen were far from contenting themselves with petitioning. For, August 22, 1642, they seized Sir John Lucas, the principal gentleman of this vicinity, who was preparing, with ten or twelve horse, and some arms, to join the royal party in the north; barbarously maltreated his mother and lady, with his chaplain, Mr. Thomas Newcomen, rector of the parish of Holy Trinity; plundered his seat on St. John's Green, sparing not even to violate the repository of his ancestors' ashes in the adjoining church of St. Giles; and conducted him, and Mr. Newcomen, prisoners to London. Some of these ruffianly partisans were themselves subsequently seized, and sent up to the Parliament, to be dealt with as the House should think fit: but the representatives for the borough, Sir William Masham, Bart. and Harbottle Grimston, Esq. (afterwards not less celebrated as the *loyal* Sir Harbottle Grimston) so far interested themselves, in common with the prevailing party, in their behalf, that they escaped without punishment. With the exception of these first revolutionary outrages, Colchester had for some time very little share in the unspeakable calamities that overwhelmed the greater part of the kingdom, as the too natural accompaniments of civil war; though, in the

end, it had no reason to boast its exemption from them.

This comparative tranquillity at the outset of hostilities, was in some measure the effect of an association, into which a large majority of the inhabitants of Essex, who were in the Parliament's interest, entered with the neighbouring counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Hertford, and Cambridge; by the terms of which social compact, they engaged to aid, succour, and assist each other in the mutual defence and preservation of themselves, and of the peace of those counties, from all rapines, plunderings, &c. For which purposes, liberal subscriptions were made, arms provided, the train bands formed into companies and regiments, officers appointed, and every other means of safety and defence resorted to by the lords and deputies-lieutenant. And in this manner was formed the *Eastern Association* for the Parliament. Some months previously, the ruling party in Colchester had very readily complied with the propositions and orders of the Houses, for assisting the popular cause by contributions of money and plate, and subscriptions for the maintenance of horse and arms. "And how much they were cajoled and complimented for this their forward zeal," (we quote the words of Morant,) will appear from the following letter to the mayor and aldermen.

"Gentlemen, Wee have acquainted the Parliament with your extraordinary Care and Paines in advancing the Propositions for the raisinge of horse, armes, money and plate for the defence of the Kinge, Parliament, and kingdome; how well your services are accepted of and what thanks wee are enjoined to give yourselves and the rest of the gentlemen, freeholders, and others of your towne for your zeales therein, and how farre they have engaged themselves for the protection and

defence of the county: the order of both Houses of Parliament will better speake it than our letter, and for your better satisfactions, to that wee must for the present referre yee which Mr. Grimeston will acquainte you with. The perfectinge of that worke begunne by you with soe great affection, and wherein you have mett with soe much incouragement both from the Parliament and people is the occasion of this letter. And in the first place wee are commanded to desire yee to send away the money and plate subscribed for, with all the speede yee can. And likewise to give particular notice to them that have ingaged themselves for the findinge of horses, to bring them upp to London, where there is order taken for the present inrollinge and valuinge of them. Many Lords doe want horse, to make upp their troupes, and the service and safety of the kingdome doe much depend uppon your activitie and dispatch herein which wee have cause to bee very confident of. And soe with the remembrance of our kindest respects, &c. wee rest your assured lovinge friends,

THO. BARRINGTON. MART. LUMLEY.

Aug. 22. HENRY MILDMAI. WM. MASHAM.

1642. HAR. GRIMSTON."

Shortly after, "the Committee of the Lords and Commons for the Safety of the Kingdom," made use of the "activity and dispatch" of the leading men of this place, jointly with the inhabitants of the other principal towns in this county, and in Suffolk, to raise 2000 horse for dragoon service. In November of the same year, when the King had entered Middlesex, and was threatening London, Colchester raised and equipped a company, under the command of Capt. John Langley, to assist in the Parliament's defence, and were at the

cost of their pay and maintenance for thirty days, which amounted to £285 10s. In the beginning of 1643, they dispatched another complete company, destined to join the Earl of Manchester, to the rendezvous of the Eastern Association at Cambridge:\* and, indeed, during the whole continuance of the war, this formerly most loyal borough supported the popular cause by perpetual reinforcements of men, as well as by large supplies of military stores, and money to an extraordinary amount. Particular exertions to raise a pecuniary supply were made here in June, 1643, through the pressing solicitations of the Earl of Essex, seconded by

\* The following letter from Oliver Cromwell, dated March 23rd of this year, and addressed "To the Maior of Colchester, and Capitaine John Langley," relates to this particular company.

"Gentlemen, Upon the cominge downe of your townsmen to Cambridge, Capt. Langlie not knowinge how to dispose of them, desired mee to nominate a fitt Captaine, which I did, an honest, religious, valliant Gentleman, Capt. Dodsworth the bearer heereof. Hee hath diligently attended the service, and much improued his men in their exercise, But hath beene unhappie beyond others, in not receauiinge any pay, for himselfe, and what Hee had for his souldiers, is out longe agoe. Hee hath by his prudenoe what with sayre, and winninge carriage, what with monie borrowed kept them together. Hee is able to do soe noe longer, they will presently disband if a course bee not taken, it's pittye itt should be soe, for I beliene they are brought into as good order as most companies in the Armie. Besid's at this instant there is great neede to vse them, I havinge receaued a special comand from my Lord Generall to aduance with what force wee can to putt an ende (if itt may bee) to this worke (God soe assistinge) from whome all helpe cometh. I beseech you therefore consider this gentleman, and the souldiers, and if itt bee possible, make up his companie a hunderd and twenty, and send them away with what expedition is possible, itt may (through Gods blessinge) proue very happie, one months pay may proue all your trouble. I speake to wise men, God direct you, I rest, yours to serve you,

OLIVER CROMWELL."

those of the earnest and indefatigable Cromwell. The appeal of the latter, given below,\* is peculiarly characteristic of his usual epistolary style, and of his exertions at this juncture: the letter of the earl was also strongly couched, and calculated to make a considerable impression on those he addressed. Among other arguments, his lordship desired "such as had most interest in the cause, to approve themselves in it; men of religious lives and affections, fittest to bear arms for the truth of religion; men of estates, to defend those

\* "Gent: I thought it my duty once more to write unto yow for more strength to be speedily sent unto us for this great service; I suppose yow heare of the great defeat given by my L. Fairfax to the Newcastle Forces at Wakefield; it was a great mercy of God to us, and had it not bin bestoane upon us at this very present, my Lo: Fairfax had not knowne how to have subsisted: we assure yow, should the force we have miscarry, expect nothing but a speedy march of the enemy up unto yow; why yow should not strengthen us to make us subsist, judge yow the danger of the neglect, and how inconvenient this improvidence or unthrifty may be to yow; I shall never write but according to my judgment, I tell yow again it concerns yow exceedingly to be perswaded by me: My Lor: Newcastle is neer 6000 foot and about 60 troopes of horse: my Lo: Fairfax is about 3000 foot and 9 troopes of horse; and we have about 24 troopes of horse and Dragooners: The enemy drawes more to the Lo: Fairfax: Our motion and yours must be exceeding speedy, or else it will doe yow noe good at all; if yow send let your men come to Boston, I beseech yow hasten the supply to us: forgett not monie. I presse not hard, though I doe soe need that I assure yow the foot and Dragooners are ready to mutiny: lay not too much upon the back of a poore Gentl' who desires without much noyse to lay downe his life, and bleed the last dropp to serve the Cause and yow; I ask not your monie for myselfe, if that were my end and hope (viz. the pay of my place,) I would not open my mouth at this time. I desire to deny myselfe, but others will not be satisfied: I beseech yow hasten supplies. Forget not your prayers.

Gent' I am yours

MAY 23, 1643.

OL. CROMWELL:"

estates; the employment not being too mean for the best men." Animated by these representations, the inhabitants entered into a general subscription, to which the contributions were from one to forty shillings each person; the women being not less generous than the men. "So few," says Morant, (who was possessed of the original list of subscribers,) "took time to consider, and fewer yet would give, or do, nothing: So few friends had the poor King here, or so few were there that chose or dared to declare for him!" Numbers at this time engaged to join the parliament's forces in person; and many more to find horses, arms, pay, &c.

The direct assessments upon the town and liberties, by order of the Parliament, during the course of the civil war, were agreeable to the list following:—

	£	s.	d.
In the year 1642, (being part of 18,048 <i>l.</i> )			
9 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i> which was charged to this	872	0	0
county, as the proportion of 400,000 <i>l.</i>			
imposed upon the whole kingdom)			
In the year 1643.....	2833	1	8
———— 1644.....	4405	16	6
———— 1645.....	6279	19	4
———— 1646.....	4283	10	7
———— 1647.....	4829	13	8
———— 1648 (to Michaelmas).....	6673	0	7½

The total amount of these levies was £30,177. 2*s.* 4½*d.*; and it cannot escape the observation of the reader, that this large sum was cheerfully advanced in about six years and a half, by a town, which in the course of five years, had been unable to pay £400 to furnish a ship for King Charles! The levies were, respectively, "for raising a body of horse for Sir Wm.

Waller; for the maintenance of the Army in Ireland; for the Scots; for the garrisons at Newport-pagnel, &c.; for Sir Thomas Fairfax's army; for reducing Newark," &c. &c.: and such levies being made by Parliamentary authority, some who were unwilling to pay their quota, were compelled to do so by fines, imprisonment, sequestration of their properties or estates, and other violent means. Besides all which, money to the amount of £630 was collected in the town, in April, 1643, towards the relief of the Protestants in Ireland; in the course of the year 1644, for a voluntary loan to the Brethren of Scotland; and another for Sir William Brereton; and a collection made in each parish, from house to house, towards buying shoes for the army under the Earl of Essex. And in May, 1645, voluntary contributions were raised to supply horse and foot for the garrison of Gloucester, and for the counties of Gloucester, Hereford, Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock and Radnor.

We also learn, from the Committee's and Sequestrators' books for Colchester, and adjacent parts of the county, that considerable sums were obtained by sequestrations of the estates of the *Delinquents*; that is, of such, as could by no means be induced to adopt the Parliamentary cause. A third part only of their several properties, was allowed to be retained by these loyal gentlemen; who certainly had an equal right with the Parliamentarians to adopt a side in the contest; and whose sufferings, flowing as they did from the maintenance of their principles, entitled them to the commiseration of their age and of posterity. Of the number thus harshly dealt with in this town and vicinity, were, Sir Thomas Lucas, of Lexden; Sir Henry Audeley, of Bere-church; Best-

ney Barker, of Monkwick, Esq.; Laurence Torkenton, Esq.; the Rev. Stephen Nettles, rector of Lexden, &c. John, Lord Lucas, whose house at St. John's we noticed to have been plundered just before the commencement of hostilities, and who for his subsequent services had been raised to the dignity of a Baron of the realm by his royal master, is not mentioned in the Sequestrators' accounts: from which it is conjectured that he was not permitted to compound, but his estate in full applied to the uses of the Parliament.



## CHAP. IV.

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### HISTORY OF COLCHESTER. FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SIEGE, TO THE PRESENT TIME.

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**I**T will have been evident, from the whole character of the events narrated in the concluding part of the last chapter, that Colchester, considered as to the great body of its inhabitants, was honestly and heartily opposed to the unfortunate Charles, throughout his memorable contest with the Long Parliament. And though eventually it underwent, in his cause, the most remarkable and afflictive **SIEGE** recorded in the domestic History of England; the loyal courage and fortitude evinced on that occasion, must be awarded much rather to the partisans of the King, who possessed themselves of the town by little less than actual force, than to the temper of the townsmen, who at first refused admission within their walls to the Royal party. The relation we are about to enter into, coupled with a recollection of the foregoing facts, will sufficiently bear us out in these observations.

The beginning of the year 1648 witnessed the complete establishment of the arbitrary power of a Parliament over an unhappy and imprisoned King, and a submissive and apparently almost tranquil people. Numbers there were, however, who in secret mourned over the

degradation to which England was reduced by a change of masters, rather than an alleviation of the former tyranny of the monarch; by the substitution, in simple fact, of somewhat more than a hundred tyrants for one. In Wales, in Scotland, and various English counties, parties arose in arms to vindicate the rights of constitutional sovereignty, and compel the Parliament to admit Charles to an accommodation with his people, and enter upon what they trusted would prove a new reign of moderation and observance of the laws. The rising of this description with which our subject is connected, was that in Kent; which originated in a *petition* for the redress of grievances, framed by the grand jury of the county, assembled at Canterbury to try a cause of alleged riot in that city. This petition being subscribed by numbers, and on the other hand strongly discountenanced and opposed by the Parliament's Committee and Deputy-Lieutenants for Kent, who published a declaration against it, it was resolved by its supporters "to march with the petition in one hand, and a sword in the other;—that they might thereby make way through all obstructions, and have liberty (according to the ancient custom of this realm) to represent their grievances to both Houses of Parliament; a thing which had never before been opposed, nor accounted riotous, till this Parliament, by their all-powerful arbitration, voted it so."\*

To carry these intentions into effect, the magazines of arms and ammunition, in different parts of the county, were seized by the petitioners; and regiments of horse and foot raised, for the avowed purpose of more safely and speedily "preferring the general petition." At Rochester, after many marchings of detached parties to

\* Matthew Carter.

collect their strength, they met in rendezvous; mustering 7000 foot, all well accoutred; besides the cavalry, which, being still dispersed, could not be correctly enumerated. Next day, May 24, they formed in warlike array on Barnham Downs, and proclaimed George, Lord Goring, Earl of Norwich, their general; a man, says Clarendon, "of a frolick and pleasant humour,—of a jovial nature," but who "had no experience or knowledge of the war, nor knew how to exercise the office he had taken upon him." The Parliament now thought it full time to dispatch their forces against so formidable a body of "petitioners;" and Lord Fairfax, with 6000 infantry, and 2000 horse, succeeded in surprising Maidstone, and in so dividing his enemy, that probably not above half their original number reached Greenwich, where they mustered in the Park, expecting to be joined by all the loyally disposed in the metropolis. But, no Londoners arriving, and their design of marching through the city to Westminster being frustrated by defensive preparations made against their entry, distraction began to pervade their councils, mingled with many fears for the result. Next came intelligence, that strong parties in Essex were prepared to unite with them; 2000 men in arms being asserted to have assembled at Bow, and more at Chelmsford. Before Lord Norwich would act upon this information, he prudently resolved to ascertain its truth; and for that purpose privately crossed the Thames, and proceeded to Bow, where he found no warlike party stirring. He had at first intended to return to his little army before night, but now thought it more adviseable to go on to Chelmsford; at which town meetings had been already held to promote the King's interest, but where, on his arrival, nothing appeared but crude and disordered resolutions,

from which no real service to the cause could be expected. In the meantime, many of the petitioners dispersed; and the rest transported themselves over the river from various points, without any clear notions of what they themselves intended, and with only some vague hopes of finding friends and their General in Essex. Overcoming a feeble opposition from the Tower Hambleteers, who were appointed by the House to intercept their progress, they marched to Stratford, where they met the Earl, hastening to re-join them in the Park at Greenwich. Surprised and troubled at what had happened, the old nobleman, after giving directions for quartering them at Stratford to await his orders, again posted to Chelmsford, although he had then allowed himself neither rest nor sleep for four successive days. The gentry of the county assembled in that town, at length came to the resolution of putting themselves under the command of Sir Charles Lucas, younger brother to Lord Lucas, who had assisted at their deliberations; and some of them even laid violent hands on the Parliament's Committee there, and would have killed them but for the interference of others. The General now sent orders to his Kentish forces to advance; which they did, animated by the arrival of many of their former comrades, as well as London apprentices, and others. He himself met them at Romford, as did Sir Charles Lucas, with his body of horse and foot, at Brentwood; from whence they all marched for Chelmsford, which they entered June the 9th.

Fortune at this time looked more favourably upon the Royalists' undertaking. Arthur, Lord Capel, the Lord Loughborough, and other persons of quality, principally from Hertfordshire, declared for them at Chelmsford; as did about fifty gentlemen who arrived by way



Eng<sup>d</sup> by Tho. Greig

## SIR CHAR. LUCAS.

Pub<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 20 1834 for the Proprietors F. Youngman & J. Greig  
by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Swinburne & Walter, Colchester.

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of Epping from London; and the day following, on their march from the town, about a hundred and twenty horse came in from Hertford and Bedfordshires. It was at first intended to attack a Parliamentary party assembled by Sir Thomas Honeywood, at Coggeshall, where he resided; but on more mature deliberation, the resolution was taken to advance on Braintree, and leave Sir Thomas unmolested, although his rising had greatly discouraged the Royalists of the county, who were besides alarmed by the information that Fairfax had crossed the Thames from Gravesend with his whole army. At Braintree they arrived on the evening of the 10th, taking Leeds House, the seat of the Earl of Warwick, in their way; and carrying from thence two brass field-pieces, between two and three hundred muskets, as many pikes, and a quantity of match and ball, some barrels of powder, &c.

June 11, being Sunday, both the Kentish and Essex parties drew to a rendezvous without the town. After prayers, the whole were formed into troops, under the several commands of the Earl of Norwich, Lords Capel and Loughborough, and Sir Charles Lucas; in order that every soldier might know how to dispose of himself upon any alarm, and be more conveniently quartered at each remove. About nine o'clock at night, to deceive the Parliament's army, who were near at hand, they again marched, intending for Colchester, Sir Charles Lucas having expressed his hopes of being joined by many friends in that town. The march was continued all night, and, with a single halt at day-break, till four o'clock the next afternoon; when they arrived within six miles of Colchester. Here Sir Charles received intelligence, that the town would not receive him in arms; upon which, a reconnoitring party was

sent before, while he himself continued to march at the head of the army. The advanced party soon returned information that the inhabitants "stood upon their guard, and were so far from giving entrance, that they opposed them, and were too strong for them. On receipt of which news, Sir Charles, and the gentlemen with him, set spurs to their horses, and galloped full speed till they came to the town, when they found the gates shut: and about sixty horse were drawn out in a very formal troop, well armed and accoutred, and some of their scouts were without the turnpike by the alms-houses. Sir Charles made a stop here, and sent back a messenger to the army, to hasten their march: but four or five gentlemen, keeping on their speed, drew their swords, and charged up to the party (of scouts), and forced them within the turnpike: so they retreated to Head-Gate, where the whole troop was drawn up in order, and the gentlemen retreated again towards the turnpike: in which fray, one person on horseback was shot by one of the gentlemen, and he fell down dead. Now the town's-people perceiving the body of the army coming, and that Sir Charles Lucas had drawn up two or three troops of horse very near them, they sent out to treat with him; and upon his engagement that the town should not be plundered, nor any injury offered to the inhabitants for what they had done, they submitted themselves, and engaged to deliver up their horse and arms, with the town; so the gates were opened, and the army quartered that night in the town."\*

The number of the Royalists on their thus obtaining

\* "True Relation of that honorable, though unfortunate expedition of Kent, Essex, and Colchester, in 1648. By Matthew Carter, Quarter-Master General in the King's Forces."



possession of Colchester, was about 4000, of whom 600 were horse; but not above 2500 of the foot were well armed. The regiments of horse were those of the Earl of Norwich, Lord Capel, Sir Wm. Compton, Col. Slingsby, Sir Bernard Gascoigne, Col. Hammond, and Col. Culpepper; of foot, those of *Sir Charles Lucas*, *Sir George Lisle*, (the future martyrs to the loyalty that engaged them in this undertaking,) Colonels Tilly, Tuke, Gilberd, Sir William Campion, Burd, Bowman, and Chester. Of the gentry and officers who co-operated in the cause without taking any command, the principal were Lord Loughborough, Sir William Layton, Sir Richard Hastings, Colonels John Heath, Lee of Kent, Panton, Cook, Sir Hugh Oriley, William Maxey, Pitman, Beal, Lieut. Col. Hatch, and Major Jammot: names, none of which are unworthy commemorating, if this expiring effort to restore a sovereign, who might be thought to have suffered sufficiently for his transgressions to his people, and whose power was certainly wielded by men more despotic than had been himself, is worthy an historical record. As to the town, which had been pardoned its first resistance to the Royalist force, it remained passive under the following events; or rather betrayed its secret good disposition towards the Parliament, and dislike of the intruding army, by indirectly abetting, if an opportunity offered, the progress of the besiegers.

The army of Fairfax, who was advancing with the utmost speed, greatly exceeded its opponents, not merely in experience and discipline, but in numerical amount. For, besides the force which arrived with him from Kent, he had been "joined on the road by Colonel Whaley and Sir Thomas Honeywood with 2000 horse and foot of the country"\* (Essex.) So expeditious

\* Whitelock.

were his motions, that he reached Lexden-Heath, June 13th, or the day after that on which the Royalists entered Colchester. From the Heath he immediately dispatched the following summons to the Earl of Norwich:

“ My Lord, I am come hither with the Parliaments forces to reduce those under your command to the obedience of the Parliament. If your Lordship, and those under you will instantly lay down your armes, there may be a prevention of much blood that is like to be spilt, and the Town preserved from plunder and ruine; the evil must lie upon you, if you refuse: I expect your present answer, and remaine your servant;  
THO. FAIRFAX.”

The Earl inconsiderately treated this message with derision; nay, with an ill-timed attempt at wit, asked the trumpeter who brought it, “ how his General did;” adding, “ he had heard he was ill of the gout, but he would cure him of all diseases.” So scornful an answer not only highly incensed Fairfax, but the troops he commanded, and occasioned an immediate and bloody rejoinder. The Parliamentarians were directly ordered to the attack; and almost before their enemies could send out parties to oppose them, were hotly engaged in the suburbs with the outguards. And now horse and foot poured on from Lexden, on the one hand, and issued from the town gates, under the command of Colonel Farre, on the other; and a conflict, as hot as any recorded in the war, ensued. The Royalists were at length driven, through a want of ammunition on their part, and the weight of superior numbers, back to the gates, and all the guards called in. But before this could be fully

effected, it became necessary, to prevent the entrance of the enemy, to shut out numbers, chiefly of Colonel Farre's regiment, who thus unavoidably became prisoners. The resistance, to the last, was desperate; the gentry of the highest distinction cheerfully performing the parts of inferior officers, and even quitting their horses when they could be of no immediate service, and charging pike in hand with the meanest of the soldiery. Lord Capel, in particular, distinguished himself in this manner; charging at Head-Gate, where the contest was hottest, until it could be shut, and at last finding time only to fasten it with his cane.

But the struggle was far from ended. The Parliamentarians still endeavoured to force their way into the town; and first began to fire underneath Head-Gate, and hurl stones over it; and at length brought a brass-gun to bear upon this principal entrance. But the eminence of the ground within the walls, gave the Royalists an advantage which they failed not to use with effect: from their positions in St. Mary's Church-yard, and particularly some adjoining gardens, they so disabled the enemy, that, after seven or eight hours fighting, night coming on, they made a dishonourable retreat; leaving behind them their brass-gun, and more than 500 small arms of various descriptions, which the next morning were conveyed into the town. Their loss in men was estimated at 700, besides 130 taken prisoners. The Royalists' severest loss was in the deaths of Sir William Campion and Col. Cooke, "men of incomparable and unblemished honour," who both received mortal wounds in the first charge in the suburbs. They had also a lieutenant, and between thirty and forty private soldiers, killed, and many more wounded. The

prisoners taken from them included Sir William Layton\* and Lieut.-Col. Rawlins, with about eighty more; many of whom, however, escaped during the confused retreat of the enemy, and were enabled to regain the town. With so much disorder did the Parliamentarians re-march to Lexden, that, as the Royalists affirmed, had they sallied out with a fresh party upon them, as was once contemplated, they had effected the destruction of the whole, or at least the greater part, of their army. Before they finally drew off, they set fire to some houses near Head-Gate; hoping, it was thought, that the wind, by carrying the flames inward, would communicate them to the town; but this the diligence of the soldiers prevented. The people of the suburbs, chiefly poor weavers, though, says M. Carter, they "rather seemed to oppose us, than to assist or help us in all we did," were not better treated by Fairfax's troops than if they had adopted the most contrary conduct: for, next

\* M. Carter's account of the capture of this gentleman, may be thought to deserve insertion.—"Sir William Layton, though not interested in any immediate command in the army, was yet of so high and noble a soul, as could not admit of a private engagement in so general a design without assisting. (He) took the charge of an out-guard; and in endeavouring to retreat, when he perceived the enemy had surrounded him, was unfortunately shot in the foot; so that before he could recover the gate, it was shut, and the enemy intermixed with his party; insomuch, that he could by means escape being taken: when a soldier, who had formerly served four years under him in the King's service, and in his own company, came to him, and would have carried him off, but was forced, by reason of the shot that came thick upon them from the town, to run away and leave him; and Sir William was grown so stiff with loss of blood, that he could not shift for himself. After a while, the soldier coming again, carried him off, and secured him from the most inhuman usage of other soldiers; which soldier afterwards proved very serviceable to him, and got him conducted home."

morning, scarce a house was found unplundered; while many of the owners were killed, and the women and children driven by fear from their habitations.

The result of this first trial of strength between the opposed armies, was some disappointment to both. Fairfax, and his troops, were at once surprised and chagrined to have met with so determined an opposition from an inferior force, great part of which consisted of raw countrymen: and the Royalists, by the nearness of the enemy, felt themselves compelled to make a defensive post of the town, instead of merely remaining in it a night or two, to collect recruits, as had been their first intention. For, though it was not "a place fitting to be mantled, or maintained as a garrison," yet, as Matthew Carter said, "march away now they could not, without falling into a champaign country, where, the enemy being very strong, and they unavoidably weak in horse, would have cut them off in an instant; their foot being no such experienced soldiers as to maintain a charge of themselves, against both horse and foot, without hedges to guard and shelter them." Besides, they "had hopes of speedy relief, both from the Scots and divers other places, who were at the same time in action." As to Fairfax, he had for his part resolved, since the obstinacy of the late defence gave him little prospect of carrying the town by storm, to sit down before it, and starve his opponents into submission. For this purpose, he fixed his head-quarters at Lexden, which lying on the London road, the arrival of assistance to the besieged from that quarter was effectually prevented: and that his enemy might not escape northward, in order to join Sir Marmaduke Langdale, or the Scots, he established a strong guard of horse on the road to Cambridge. The place was enclosed, therefore,

except on the side next the sea; on which it was still possible that it might be relieved by the King's ships, great part of the navy having declared for Charles: but to deprive it of this last hope, Fairfax dispatched another party of horse to secure Mersea Fort, which commanded the passage to Mersea-Island, and thus precluded all maritime intercourse.

From the moment of adopting his resolution, the Parliament's General began to make his approaches to the town, on the Lexden side, in form; casting up a fort and barricadoes, to secure the highway and headquarters; and, after two days repose, constructing in the night another fort, or battery, nearer the place, which was called *Fort Essex*,\* in which he placed a guard. The next night, ground was entered upon a hill, then called the Warren, and since the Hanging-Field, and a strong guard placed there the night following: and thus every night fresh ground was broken on what were conceived the most advantageous spots, and a line run by degrees from one redoubt and fort to another. Convinced by all these measures, that nothing less than a formal blockade was intended, the Royalists began to be as active in their endeavours to counterwork the enemy's design. What principally demanded attention on their part, was the state of the town with regard to *provisions* and *fortification*; in both which points it was at first thought to be extremely defective. Upon search made, however, stores of corn and wine, fish, salt, and considerable quantities of powder, were found, both in the town, and at *the Hithe*, or harbour, which is a little distant from it. At the Hithe, especially, "in the memory of man, there never was known

\* This fort, which was eight rods long, and three broad, was filled up and levelled in 1742.

such plenty of all things as there was at that time," which was looked upon by the besieged as "a providence almost as great as that of the Israelites in the Wilderness;" more particularly since the enemy were "so favourable as not to endeavour to cut them off from that place, till they had almost drained the honey from the comb, which they might easily have done, had they known what was doing." The seizure of so much powder, was considered as scarcely less providential; since the want of it "would suddenly have thrown them into absolute ruin, having very much exhausted their magazine by the last day's business."\* Their defensive exertions, in which they were very laborious, were directed to strengthening the walls, and casting up ramparts and counterscarps where necessary: they erected besides a fort at St. Mary's, calling it the *Royal Fort*, "from whence they fired hard, and killed some of the workmen employed in making Fort Essex, and others as they were straggling in the fields."†

The Parliamentarians now received a strong reinforcement of horse and foot, from Suffolk and Norfolk, consisting of country regiments that had lain at certain towns, where were the chief passes over the river Stour; (the besieged having first made an ineffectual attempt to bring them over to their side.) A few days afterwards, Sir Charles Lucas sent a trumpeter to General Fairfax, with a proposal for an exchange of prisoners; to which, agreeably to Whitelock,‡ the General answered, "that Sir Charles had forfeited his parole, his honour, and faith, being his prisoner upon parole, and (was) therefore not capable of command, or trust in martial affairs." But as it cannot be discovered, from perusing the nu-

\* Carter.

† Diary of the Siege of Colchester.    ‡ Memorials, p. 313.

merous works of writers contemporary with those times, when or how Sir Charles was thus a prisoner on parole to Fairfax, and as the latter himself does not mention such a circumstance, nor the reply given, in his "Short Memorials," it is to be apprehended that the generally accurate and impartial Whitelock was deceived by some erroneous information on this point. The day following, the Parliament's ships at Harwich took two frigates, the one of eleven, the other of ten guns, that lay there to assist the King's party in Colchester: and, the same day, Colonel Ewer joined the besiegers, with six companies, from Chepstow Castle. Another unfortunate occurrence for the Royalists was, that a reinforcement which was coming to them under the command of Major Muschampe, was defeated at Linton by troops sent from before the town by Fairfax; the major slain; many taken prisoners; and the rest, being about 500, dispersed.

June 19th, the Parliament's Committee that had been seized at Chelmsford, and that was now under restraint in this town, "upon their humble request for it to the Lord Norwich, Lord Capel, and Sir Charles Lucas, obtained leave of them, that they, the said Committee, might make it their humble proposal to the Lord Fairfax, that there might be a treaty between both armies for a peace." In this style was the proposal made accordingly; with the addition, from the Lords Norwich and Capel, and Sir Charles Lucas, of these words: "It is the general peace of the kingdom we contend for, and therefore we are content, that the Committee shall send their above-written proposall to the Lord Fairfax, according unto their request made unto us." The answer of Fairfax was to this effect:

"My Lords, The Paper sent to me, inclosed in the



letter from your Lordships, and Sir Charles Lucas, of the 19th instant, seemes in the first part of it so drawn, as that I could not well understand it, what kind of treaty, or what peace it meant. But the latter part, underwritten by your Lordships, and Sir Charles Lucas, seemes to explain your own meaning, so as if you meant a treaty betwixt the armies for the generall peace of the kingdom, and not otherwise for yourselves, or your garrison: And to the contents of it in that sence, I can only say, That such a treaty, and such a peace, is not the proper work of myself, or the army, but theirs that have imployed us: But if the English be, to make a way for conditions to your Garrison, I shall, without the trouble of a treaty, let you know what yourselves, and those under you may expect from me, which, for the restoring of quiet to this county, and the kingdom, without more blood-shed, and for the saving of so eminent a Town from the chance of war, I shall offer, viz. That if yourselves, and the rest with you in Colchester, shall, within 24 hours after notice hereof, lay down armes, the common soldiers, and men of that rank, shall have liberty to depart to their severall homes, and there quietly to remain submitting unto the Authority of Parliament: (And this I shall make good however, to so many of that sort respectively, as shall accept thereof, and do accordingly.) Youreselves, and the Officers and Gentlemen engaged with you in the Town, shall have liberty, and passes, to go beyond sea, with equipage befitting their qualities (engaging themselves not to return into this kingdom without leave from the Parliament.) And all of both sorts, with the inhabitants of the Town, shall be free from plunder, or violence of the souldiers; their arms, ammunition, and furniture of war within the town, and also their horses

employed in militarie service (except such horses and swords as shall be fit to be allowed to Captains, or superior Officers, and Gentlemen of quality, for their removall) being first delivered up without imbezlement, in an orderly manner, as shall be further set down, and the forces under my command, or such as I shall appoint, being admitted a peaceable entrance into the Town. I desire the Gentlemen of the Committee of Parliament now in your hands (who by their subscriptions to part of the Paper, and by your sending of it, as from them, or at their request, are concerned to know what my answer is) may be acquainted herewith; and indeed, if it be concealed from any that are concerned in it, the blame thereof from God and man is like to fall on their heads, who shall be the authors of such concealment."

The substance of this answer was published, two days after, by beat of drum and sound of trumpet, at the head of every troop and regiment of the Parliamentarian army before Colchester. On the 21st of June, the Earl of Norwich, Lord Capel, and Sir Charles Lucas, made the following reply:

"My Lord, We have received yours of the 20th, which takes notice of the Paper of the 19th, subscribed by the Committee, and of our permission to have it delivered to you. You have very justly apprehended our intentions to be the publique peace of the kingdom, and we againe own that sence, and no other, as befitting the duty of English-Men: And we believe, if both armies were accorded in such an indeavour, it were the most pious, easie, and honourable action, wherein they could be ingaged; but why you have taken occasion by that act of ours, to offer conditions in particular to us, we understand not, nor can it be supposed, without

strayning and offering violence to our manner of proceeding. Those conditions you proffer to the officers and souldiers on our part, we doe hereby make offer to the officers and souldiers on your part. We shall in this occasion deale frankly and plainly. We doe, not without evident reason, conceive ourselves to be in a condition able to entertain all the force you can make, and thereby to give courage and opportunity to all true-hearted Englishmen, to recover their ancient and knowne Lawes; or if you shall adventure to attaque us, we doubt not but by the mercy and assistance of Almighty God to give you such a repulse, as shall give testimony of our force and courage, and at how high a rate we value the generall peace of the kingdome. You doe with more than usual earnestnesse desire, that your answer should be communicated to the Committee, and whom else it may concerne; we apprehend you chiefly intend the inhabitants of Colchester: We were very unworthy persons if any should exceed us in our care for this good Towne, and we doubt not but God will recompence the kindnesse we have received from them, and that he hath a reward in store for them suitable to the loyalty and fidelity they have hitherto on this occasion manifested toward the King, and knowne lawes of the kingdome: and because you apprehend it so important and necessary to divulge the proceedings in this affaire, we will therefore put it into your power: And therefore we desire your Lordship, to cause the Paper signed by the Committee of the 19. and our answer subsigned, the answer of your Lordship to us of the 20. and this our reply of the 21. to be all printed, and as many of the prints as you shall send to us, we will disperse in Colchester, and those parts of the

country under our power, and to each person of the Committee one.”\*

The same day, a letter from the Earl of Norwich to Lord Fairfax, inclosing a petition from the inhabitants, “that liberty might be granted to the Bay and Say Makers in the town to have a free trade with London during the Siege,” received for answer: that they should have considered this, and divers other inconveniences of war, before they admitted the forces in their town: that the present interruption of their trade was brought upon them not by his default, but by those whom the town had harboured; and that to grant liberty of trade to persons besieged, was such a motion as was never granted: That there were with him sundry gentlemen of quality, and towns-men of good estates and eminent in trade, who offered to buy all the bays and says in the town at the usual prices, and to pay for them, within a fortnight after the town should be rendered, or quitted to him: And, though it were without example to a besieged town, yet he would give leave for their commodities to be brought to Lexden Heath near the town, to be bargained, or returned back, as there should be occasion.

About the 20th of June, several gentlemen were dispatched away privately by the Royalists, with commissions to raise men for the King, in Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridgeshire. But the country forces, (that had lately joined the Parliamentarians from the towns on the Stour,) having broken down all the bridges over that river, and left a guard to keep a strict watch at the

\* These letters of the leaders of the armies on both sides, which may be thought sufficiently curious to warrant their insertion at length, are given by Morant, from “Papers printed by Authority.”

passes—moreover, Mersea Fort being in the hands of the enemy—not a passage was left open for them. Consequently they returned, through the quarters of their opponents, to the town; being so fortunate as to regain it in safety, without the loss of a man. The next night, parties of horse and foot were boldly sent out to search the hundred of Tendring for provisions; and returned, without loss, the day following, with an hundred sheep and sixty oxen, all of which were delivered over to the Commissary for the general use. Animated by this success, parties were sent out on several successive nights, which continued to add provisions to the public store.

Two or three days after, a rising to assist the besieged took place in the surrounding country; but those concerned in it had very nearly been betrayed by their captain into the hands of the prevailing power. But his designs being discovered, the enraged countrymen made him their prisoner, till the pleasure of Sir Charles Lucas, who had commissioned him, should be known. With information to this effect, they sent an earnest request to Sir Charles, that he would dispatch a party to conduct them into the town. A party was accordingly drawn out, who, marching from the place in the night, returned, after a week's absence, with their new friends; conducting them in safety through the quarters of the Suffolk foot, who had established themselves at Mile-End, and by North-Bridge.

Again, a night-party was dispatched, which, marching out at North-Gate, sallied through the Suffolk forces, and returned in the morning, with the loss of only two men;—a loss that was considered fully recompensed by its procuring present subsistence for numbers; as this party brought back with them more than fifty oxen and

cows, besides sheep, some corn, and other provisions. More might have been obtained, had Sir Charles Lucas permitted them to drive the cattle of any but those he knew to be enemies: but this tenderness of his to his countrymen proved a great injury to his cause, as no opportunity of procuring such supplies occurred afterwards, through the daily narrowing of the bounds in which they were confined by the Parliamentarians. The latter, indeed, were greatly incensed by the reflection, that they had allowed the besieged repeatedly to sally through their very quarters, and return safe. The Hithe, however, was yet secured to the Royalists, by a guard; and necessaries, of various kinds, were still daily sent thence to the town.

On some occasions, the irruptions of the besieged, and their affairs with the enemy without the place, were not attended with such fortunate results; as may be seen from the following incidents, chiefly collected from the "Diary." June 22. The Parliamentarians were industriously at work upon "Col. Ewer's fort, near the Shepen; which 100 of the Royalists sallied out in the night to view, but were instantly beaten in again. However, their cannon killed two of the besiegers." On the 26th, the besieged being drawn "out in Crouch Street, (which, though without the walls, was still in their possession,) a party of Col. Barkstead's foot beat them out of their hedges, and from their court of guard, fired the guard-house, and brought away the hour-glass by which they stood sentry." Wednesday, the 28th., "early in the morning, the besieged, with a party of horse, attempted the Parliamentarians' horse-guards near St. Mary's, and shot a scout, but were instantly beaten back." The day following, as the besiegers were busied in constructing a new fort, called Barkstead's Fort, on the west

side of Maldon Lane, the Royalists having greatly annoyed them, not only with their cannon, but with small shot from Sir Harbottle Grimston's house, (which stood in the suburbs, and had been formerly a monastery of Crouched Friars,) General Fairfax brought his great guns to bear upon the mansion of Sir Harbottle in such a manner, that they shot "through and through" it, and obliged its occupants to retreat, though leisurely, and not till after they had set the house on fire. "At night they also fired Mr. Barrington's house," (south of the town, and on the spot where Mr. Winsley afterwards founded his Hospital;) and "a party of their horse advancing over East Bridge," fell into an ambuscade of the enemy's dragoons; when "Lieut.-Col. Hatcher, and divers other officers and soldiers of the Royalists, were slain."

July 1st. "Col. Whaley possessed himself of Greenstead Church," the parochial edifice of one of the out-parishes of Colchester, and erected a strong battery in the church-yard. On the 5th, the Royalists published a proclamation, issuing from their council of war, calling upon all such towns-men, "as would serve upon the line for the security of the town, to enlist themselves for the service under the several captains and officers who should be deputed by Sir Charles Lucas to command them; and all others, to bring in their arms to be delivered into the magazine:" further ordering, "that those who refused to enlist themselves, should not keep any arms in their houses, on pain of death, and forfeiture of their goods to the benefit and use of the town."\* The necessity for this proclamation and order on the part of the Royalists' council, must be admitted to speak far more forcibly, as to the real coldness and

\* Carter.

backwardness of the inhabitants in their service, than the same Royalists' late politic praises of the "good town," and its "kindnesse," "loyalty," and "fidelity," in their letter to Fairfax.

About this time, the approaches of the besiegers had gradually brought them into such near neighbourhood with the place, notwithstanding the daily sallies and skirmishes with them at all points from within, that they "fell into East Street," which extends into the country from East Bridge, and, seizing the mill on the river, planted a guard there. This guard, in hopes of firing all that part of the street betwixt them and the town, because many of the Royalists both quartered and guarded in it, set fire to a neighbouring tanner's house and barn, by which all the goods of the poor man, together with his stock of leather and corn, were consumed: they began to be very troublesome besides to the guards of the Royalists. Upon which, at the next council of war, a resolution was taken for "a grand sally on that part of the town; which was accordingly performed, Sir Charles Lucas commanding in chief, at the head of the horse, and Sir George Lisle heading the infantry. The whole party consisted of five hundred of the latter, and two hundred of the former; out of which a forlorn being selected, was ordered to commence the attack. With a very gallant alacrity the command was obeyed, and the success of this first movement was astonishing. The enemy's guard, being posted on the farther side of the river, on both sides of the street, and with a barricado across the way in the centre, "with their chase-shot from their drakes, and small shot from the barricado and guard-houses, they played very thick" upon the advancing Royalists; who, for their part, had "no other passage over the



river than a foot-bridge, the end whereof reached within five feet of the enemy's barricado:" but the brave forlorn, "as if it had been only a sporting skirmish among tame soldiers at a general muster, regarded it not, and, running in a single file over the bridge, and some for haste through the river, mounted their barricado, and beat the enemy off in an instant; and having once gained that, overturned the drakes, and charged upon other parties that still fired at them in the street,—surrounding them,—who, having neither possibility of relief, retreat, or escape, yielded upon quarter: so they took the Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, and about eighty private soldiers, with all the other inferior officers." The remainder of the Royalists then marching up, the entire street, with the adjacent houses, which had been almost full of the Parliament's soldiers, was cleared of them: "which gave so great an alarm to all their leaguer, that they immediately rallied together all the foot and horse on that side of the river, and marched down the hill from behind the (east) windmill, to the top of another hill (near St. Anne's) in a very full and orderly body; leaving only their colours and pikes, with a reserve, behind the windmill." But the Royalists, having by this time nearly gained the top of the hill on which their enemies had thus taken post, continued their charge, and with such effect, that they quickly forced them to a disorderly retreat, in which "the fields were overspread with confused and dispersed soldiers both of horse and foot."

Pursuing their advantage, the Royal party now attacked the reserve and colours left on the second hill, behind the windmill, and forced them also to quit their ground and disperse themselves: when, as a last resource, the Parliamentarians, having divided their

horse into three squadrons, contrived with one of these to make a stand, while the other two wheeled up and down, beating up and rallying the infantry as they ran, till the latter were in a manner compelled by their comrades to avail themselves of the shelter of a very thick hedge, behind which they formed. Meantime, satisfied with their victory, the main body of the Royalists had begun their return to the town; though a party of them, who were infantry, "more out of heat of courage than mature policy," continued advancing, till they gained an old thin hedge opposite that behind which the enemy were posted. Here they renewed their fire, while a body of the Parliament's horse hovered about, as if irresolute whether or not to attack them. Unfortunately for this advanced band of Royalists, a foolish exclamation from one of them for more ammunition being heard by the watching cavalry; who, immediately judging them all to be deficient in that article, which was in truth the case, made a furious charge through the hedge, and either killed or captured nearly the whole party. Perceiving what had happened, the retiring main body faced about, as the Parliamentarians again advanced, and "received their charge with such an undaunted retort, that they forced them once more to a speedy retreat, and so marched easily into the town again, in very good order."\*

From an action thus hardly maintained, the Royalists naturally derived rather considerable loss; which it is very probable they under-rated at "one Captain, one Lieutenant, and about thirty† private soldiers, who were taken at the broken hedge," besides killed and wounded.

\* Matthew Carter's "True Relation;" from which all the passages between inverted commas, relating to this contest, are extracted.

† The "Diary" says *eighty*.

In the heat of the fight, Sir George Lisle was made a prisoner, but immediately afterwards rescued. Of the Parliamentarians, according to M. Carter, upwards of eighty\* were brought into the town prisoners, and between two and three hundred killed. Of their wounded, very few, it is said, recovered; either owing to the neglect of the surgeons, or to the severity of the weather, which was remarkably cold and rainy for the season of the year. It was asserted by some, that the whole loss to the Parliament's forces by this affair, was not less than five hundred men; besides many that deserted them on occasion of it, and came over to the town, while others stole away to their homes.

After this sally, the countrymen who had joined Fairfax "began to be displeased with the service, and thought it hard duty to lie so long in the trenches, and were glad to entertain all comers, who would perform their duty for them, allowing them ten shillings a week constant pay to be excused themselves." Owing to which, it was affirmed, that many who came from London, and other places, fully possessed with an intention to join the Royalists, but who were unable to pass the hostile lines, were induced to close with the offers of the Parliament's wearied friends; mentally determining, however, as they are said to have declared, to take the first opportunity of an open engagement in the field to go over to the King's party: but such an opportunity, unfortunately for the loyal resolves that lay without suspicion in their bosoms, was not permitted to occur.

On the next night following the sally, the Parliamentarians more than restored the original strength of "their leaguer" east of the town, and re-possest themselves of their guard-houses, and all the ground they had lost,

\* Forty, agreeably to the "Diary."

in East Street. Then again they began to fire the houses on the west side of the river, nearest the town; but without doing any material injury to the Royalists, owing to the exertions of their guards, whose position greatly galled the enemy. The next object was to destroy all the windmills, at which the besieged had hitherto ground their corn; and this it was not difficult to effect: but it was contrived also to find "a salve for that sore;" for a quantity of mill-stones having been discovered at the Hithe, which were lying there ready for transportation, some of them had been fortunately brought into the town, and horse-mills were now erected by means of them. Thus were the Parliamentarians disappointed in their hopes of occasioning a mutiny among the garrison for want of bread; an event which the royal Quarter-Master General considered probable enough, had they not been possessed of this alternative, since there were "poisonous incendiaries" to set them on, while "the town's-people were always ready to second them." Meanwhile, sallies were made almost every night; by which some of the enemy were constantly cut off, though not without loss also to the Royalists. The besiegers, too, remitted not their exertions, but continued to circumscribe the line round the town; and now threw up horn-works and redoubts to the north, and ran a trench to them from the river-side over against the hill before-mentioned, called the Warren: by which labour they were enabled to bring several great pieces to play violently against the Middle-mill upon the river, but with little effect. They were ignorant that, had they even succeeded in destroying this mill, the only one left standing, the previous precautions of the besieged would have rendered the achievement unavailing.

Indeed, by every means, that prudence, heroic cou-

rage, and the loftiest self-devotion, could devise, were the safety and subsistence of the garrison and town provided for by its present military occupants. The labours of the Lord Loughborough, though peaceful, as he was appointed to no military command, deserved for him a niche in that temple to future fame, which his loyal contemporaries were raising. He "made a most laborious toil as pleasing to him as the lightest recreation," in undertaking, and continuing throughout, the general care of the provisions for the army: and it was an interesting picture presented by this nobleman, when, many times, for half a day together, he would keep "his strict eye over both mills and bakers, lest, by indiscreet or wilful neglect, any inconveniences should happen." To such a picture, the Mayor of the town afforded a contrast far less pleasing, to all, who, whatever may be their own political opinions, love the zealous and disinterested attachment of others, when their country is shaking around them, to *some* cause: for, having been commanded by the council of war to raise supplies of provision for the town's-people, and to set up mills for grinding their corn, "whether out of a rebellious wilfulness, or sottish simplicity," he "rather desired to hazard the starving them;" conceiving, out of the mean wiles of an obstinately petty soul, "that, by the violent instigation of unmerciful hunger, they would be urged to a mutiny in the town, whereby the enemy might take hold of the confusion;—for, notwithstanding all threats, and daily urgencies from the Lord Loughborough and Sir Charles Lucas, he still neglected to provide corn for those who had none, or mills to grind for those who had yet some left."\*—"Whereupon, the poor of the town, having quite exhausted their provision, began to

\* Carter.

throng together, making great clamours, and exclamations of their being ill used, and, falling into necessity, their bellies sounding alarms to their mouths, made their mouths instruments to thunder their wants to the ears of the officers of the army," while, however, they "did not at all reflect on the Mayor and officers of the town. But Sir Charles Lucas, at the next council of war, commiserating them as his own town's-born people, petitioned the Lords that they might have some corn delivered them out of the general store-house; which was as readily granted as mentioned, and an order immediately given; by which the commissaries were appointed to deliver to every family, according to the number of people in it, a certain proportion of bread-corn, which amounted in the whole to 300 quarters of wheat and rye: the want whereof proved so great an inconvenience to ourselves, that half that quantity would have supported us till we had obtained better conditions from the enemy than we did."<sup>a</sup>

July 12th, at a council of war, the following Declaration was proposed, and, meeting the general assent, was ordered to be dispersed as widely as under existing circumstances was possible, "as also in the enemy's leaguer."

"The Declaration of His Excellency George Lord Goring, Earl of Norwich, with the Gentlemen and Freeholders of the counties of Kent and Essex, in Arms for the prosecution of their General Petition and Solemn Engagement; as also their Offer unto all such Officers and Soldiers as shall join them.

"Could prosperity make us insolent, this overture should be the story of our present fortunes: how numerous, how unanimous, how associated, and how

<sup>a</sup> Carter.

befriended, have we been in our undertakings! In a word, Heaven seems pleased with our proceedings, and earth conspires for our deliverance! Consider with what resolution we have acted in times of despair, and raised ourselves to the present height out of nothing! Consider also, that we still move with the same resolution, and are yet favoured and encouraged by the same Providence who at first raised us.

"In this condition, gentlemen and fellow-subjects, we salute you in a temper of pure love and christianity; disengaged, I assure you, from any interest whatever, or mixture of revenge or fear. Peace is the end we aim at, and proposed at first to accomplish our designs in a peaceable manner, if it were possible so to do.

"We have compassionately considered the number of innocent souls, who have been seduced by the imposture of a pretended liberty, and the many who have been brought into erroneous and unfortunate engagements by their necessities; all of whom must certainly perish, if not preserved by this now only remaining expedient:

"Therefore, whatever Officer or Soldier now in arms against us, shall, on or before the 21st day of this instant July, repair unto us, or join any part of our forces, and with them enter upon action, and not proceed against us for the future, shall have his or their arrears paid unto him or them: and we do further hereby oblige ourselves to intercede to his most sacred Majesty for an Act of Indemnity; and we do not in the least doubt but our most gracious sovereign the King will immediately grant the same; and, for the performance hereof on our part, we tie our honors and the faith of the county: vowing withal, that we design no alteration, either in church or commonwealth, but such as this present Parliament hath declared and allowed to be the duty of good christians and loyal subjects."

The next considerable undertaking of the Parliamentarians, was the reduction of the Hithe, where the besieged had a guard in the church, with a small fort. Captain Horsmander, who commanded the guard, surrendered at first sight of the enemy, without firing a musket: for his want of presence of mind, or of courage, in which, many reflections were passed on him by his party. However, the place having been previously drained of nearly every thing of any value to the Royalists, they little regretted its capture: on the contrary, they were disposed to rejoice at their good fortune in preserving it so long; since, without the supplies it had afforded them, they could not have held the town ten days. The ignorance or negligence of Fairfax, in regard to the uses made by the besieged of this post, is truly surprising: from the first day of the siege, he might have made himself its master, without power of prevention by the Royalists; as, in its defence, they must have hazarded a general action without the walls, which they justly considered it their strongest policy to avoid.

July 15. Lord Fairfax sent offers of *honourable conditions* to the *soldiers* of the garrison, if they would surrender, or quit the service. Upon which, the Lords Norwich and Capel, and Sir Charles Lucas, returned an answer under their own hands, "That it was *not honourable*, nor agreeable to the usage of war, to offer conditions separately to the soldiers, exclusive of their officers:" and they accompanied the expression of this sentiment with a civil intimation to his lordship, that, if he sent any more such messages or proposals, he must not take it ill should they hang the messenger. The same evening, being convinced by this and many other evidences, that it was the intention of Fairfax, in case he obtained the mastery, to deny the leaders and principals



of the royal party that mercy, which the numbers of the private soldiers would, in their case, in some measure compel him to; it was resolved in council, that all the volunteers of the garrison, together with the greater part of the horse, should attempt to "break through the leaguer," and, if they could accomplish that, proceed by Nayland Bridge into Suffolk, and thence northwards to join and hasten the relief, which, they had been secretly assured, was approaching under the command of Sir Marmaduke Langdale. It was considered that, by adopting this course, the garrison left behind, being relieved from the necessity of maintaining so many men and horses, would be enabled to hold out the longer: whereas the stores being now nearly exhausted, the want of subsistence, if all remained in the town, must very speedily do the work of the enemy. Perhaps it was further trusted, that should Fairfax even succeed in reducing the place before succours could arrive, he would deal leniently with his prisoners, on finding them to consist only of those to whom he had just offered "honourable conditions." But whatever were the result, since there was no parity in the expected after-fate of these gentlemen and the common-soldiers, in the event of their abiding a parity of warlike fortunes, neither justice nor honour could take reasonable offence at an effort to avert destruction from themselves, by a method that at once promised the readiest deliverance to their comrades, and the greatest good to the general cause. In this light, even their contemporary enemies appear to have considered the undertaking in hand; for we hear not of their attempting to impugn, on this occasion, the motives by which the Royalist commanders were actuated.

Late in the night, the horse, and all others who were

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intended to take part in the enterprise, assembled in the Castle Yard; together with a party of foot, and some pioneers, who were to assist, the former in forcing the enemy's line, the latter in opening the hedges, and levelling the banks, for the passage of the cavalry. Every thing being arranged, they marched down to the river by the Middle Mill, where they crossed the stream, and came within reach of the Parliamentarians' centinels, without discovery: but precisely at this juncture, and when every thing afforded a fair prospect of success, the "guides and pioneers, who were for the most part town's-men, agreeably to a plotted combination amongst them, ran away immediately, the night being dark."\* This treachery led to a general retreat; the enemy, who were now alarmed, attempting to pursue; but, through mistake, imagining the Royalists to have retired over North Bridge, they pursued in a wrong direction, while the party, without losing a man, returned into the town. Enraged at their own error, the Parliamentarians then set fire to all the houses without the bridge, and completely consumed them. A battery being shortly afterwards erected at the ford by the Middle Mill, to prevent future attempts of the same kind, all idea of escaping in this manner was abandoned. Having by this time drawn their line very near the Lord Lucas's seat on St. John's Green, the besiegers brought up two demi-cannons, under the shelter of an old wall, and some buildings, (which were probably the existing garden-wall, and remains of the out-buildings, of the ancient monastery) and commenced battering it. Their shot was principally directed against the Gate House, one side of which they brought to the ground; and firing at the same time several grenadoes, many of the guard within,

\* Carter.

which consisted of an hundred musqueteers, were buried in the stones and dust: while the rest, unable to withstand the shock, betook themselves to their swords, and the butt-ends of their muskets, and fought hard from place to place, until most of them contrived to escape, some through the wicket of the gate, others out of the windows, or by the breaches made in the walls of the edifice. The officers all "forced their liberty with the points of their swords, and came off safe." At least, this is the Royalists' account; but their opponents assert the house to have been blown up by the fall of their grenadoes into the magazine, and most of its defenders buried in the ruins. Again, the Parliamentarians are silent, relative to some exceedingly disgraceful proceedings, on becoming possessed of the house, imputed to their party: such as entering the vault of the Lucas family, and brutishly mangling the remains of their ancestors, &c. Nor is there less contrariety in the narrations of the loss sustained by the besiegers upon this occasion.

At the next council of war, from reflecting upon the emptiness of the provision magazines, and the nearly total dearth of flesh-meat, it began to be meditated to make a selection of "those *horses* which were fitting for the soldiers to eat." Accordingly, all the horses of the garrison were collected in the Castle-Yard, after orders given that no officer whatsoever should conceal any horse belonging to him, upon pain of its immediate forfeiture for slaughter: when one animal in three from every troop was delivered to the Commissary, to be killed, and distributed to the men for food. One horse "was roasted whole, near North Gate, to make the soldiers merry at their entrance into such diet." Many desertions from the garrison took place in consequence

of these severe privations; yet the generality cheerfully submitted to them; and by this firmness, and the knowledge which was spread of their quiet submission to feed on horse-flesh, greatly staggered the besiegers' hopes of a speedy surrender.

July 22. Lord Fairfax sent a trumpeter, to propose an exchange of prisoners; offering the Lord Capel's son for one, and Mr. Ashburnham in lieu of Sir William Masham, (who was one of the Chelmsford Committee;) but the council unanimously rejected the proposal, on the ground that the Parliament's General continued to "refuse conditions to the chief gentlemen of the garrison." Lord Capel, in particular, replied, that it was inhuman in the Lord Fairfax to surprise his son, who had not been in arms, and make offer of him to insult a father's affection: that he might murder his son if he pleased: he (Lord Capel) would leave his blood to be revenged as Heaven should give opportunity. While the Earl of Norwich sent word, that, as Fairfax had reduced the King's servants to the condition of eating horse-flesh, the prisoners also should feed as they fed.

"Now, upon the last search which was made in the town's-men's houses and shops for all things eatable, very little corn was found; in some houses not above a peck, in some two; in some none, or scarcely any flesh: yet there was a good quantity of spice and oil, which, as far as it would hold out, proved very useful to eat with the horse-flesh. Some starch was also found, which was preserved, and the same made very good puddings."\*

July 26. The Parliamentarians began to batter the town-walls, especially on the west side, from St. Mary's to the North Gate; and gave other serious indications of intending a storm. But meeting with a repulse

\* Carter.

in a preliminary attack upon the Middle-Mill, from a party which marched down and drove them back to their quarters, they gave over the design for that time, and did not resume it afterwards.\* Next day, a successful sally was made upon a party who had established themselves in some redoubts between Magdalen Street and the wall; and from this time daily sallies were made, at one point or other, until the termination of the Siege.

On the Sunday following, an exchange was allowed to take place, of Mr. Ashburnham, a servant of the King, for Sir William Masham, the Parliamentary Committee-man. Narrating this exchange, Matthew Carter takes the opportunity to refute an aspersion cast upon the Royalist gentlemen, that they had placed the Committee who were in durance to them "just upon line, because they should be killed by the impartial shot of their friends." He curiously adds, "I confess, that once or twice the top of the house wherein they were confined, was shot through with great shots from the leaguer: whereupon, they sent a special message to the Lord Fairfax, to let him know what house they lay in, and desired him that he would not shoot that way!

\* "The following accident happened in the attack, to an Ensign in our guard, (at the Mill,) in Colonel Till's regiment, viz. He was shot through the body, in at one side and out at the other, with a five-pound bullet; after which he went from the guard to his quarters in the heart of the town, by the help of one soldier only, who led him, the bullet hanging by his side in his skin; and being laid on his bed, the bullet broke out, and carried with it his last spirits of life; giving him time to breathe out this expression only: 'Oh! that I had been shot with my colours in my hand; that, furling myself in them, I might have so died, my friends might have believed I really loved the King, and that I lived, and cheerfully died, in his and my country's service.'"—Carter.

But this was very empty, for what house in the town could be secure from the fire? They should have gotten an order of Parliament, that the bullets should not have dared to molest them, if they did fly that way!"

August 2. Miserable was now the condition both of the garrison and inhabitants of Colchester; and the cavalry horses, destined to become the future food of the soldiers, were not in a less wretched plight. But since to preserve the lives of these animals was eventually to preserve those of their masters, the most strenuous exertions were made to procure them sustenance: the men going out in parties, expressly to cut grass for them, while companies of their comrades occupied the enemy by a continued fire. In an employment so full of danger, many of the garrison were killed: nor was it resorted to, until all the thatch from the houses, and boughs of the trees, had been eaten up. Numbers continually availed themselves of every opportunity to leave the place; either finding some mode of passing the besiegers' guards, or, upon their surrender, being supplied with passes. The town's-people, suffering as they were under the most horrible distresses, began to be very troublesome to the soldiers: and on the 7th, the Mayor and Aldermen waiting upon the General, requested that they might send to Lord Fairfax, to ask his permission for the inhabitants to leave the town, that they might not all perish with hunger. Lord Norwich readily granted them leave to prefer this petition; but Lord Fairfax not only refused its prayer, but gave directions to his army all round the line to fire upon the inhabitants, should the garrison attempt to force them from the town.

And now began horse-flesh to be more precious to the starving Royalists, than the choicest viands had been

formerly: the army in general, and all the officers and gentlemen, from the lords down to the lowest soldier, eating nothing else, (of animal food,) unless it were cats and dogs. And so great was the universal necessity, that the horses were not secure in their stables; some being purloined, and knocked on the head, every night, and afterwards sold by the pound in the shambles. Nor, in a short time, was there a dog left in the place; it being a custom with the soldiers to reserve part of their scanty allowance of bread, and with a morsel of it entice any dog they could discover in the streets till it came within reach; then, killing it with the butt-ends of their muskets, they carried it off to their quarters. Six shillings were known to be given for the side of a dog, and even that a small one. Still, the resolution of the garrison in general, to hold out to the last, was unconquerable: hope still flattered them with the possibility of eventual deliverance, as both the Scotch and English Royalists were known to be in force in Lancashire.

The besiegers, therefore, finding that every warlike effort to subdue the town, had been, and was even yet likely to be, unattended with success, at length had recourse to petty stratagems, hoping by them to work up the minds of the soldiers to mutinous resolutions against their commanders. They procured intelligence to be circulated among them of pretended victories over the Scots, &c.; and by libels against the officers, privately dispersed by means of women who were permitted to come into the town, endeavoured to disgust them with their duties. Next, they shot arrows over the walls, with papers attached to them, on which were written promises to the men, that, if they would desert the town, they should have fair quarter, pardon for the

past, and liberty to go to their homes, without being rifled of what they possessed, or in anywise injured, by the Parliament's army. But these offers had very little, if any, effect upon the garrison, whose fortitude appeared to increase with their difficulties: and when again arrows were shot into the town, bearing with them both a repetition of such proposals, and threats of denying quarter to all who should not quit their officers by a certain day, the soldiers returned them to the lines, with accompaniments very strongly indicative of their contempt.

August 12. The people of the town assembled in crowds about the General's quarters, clamouring for a surrender: the women and children, in particular, threw themselves on the ground before the guard, with frantic outcries for bread. The soldiers made the men retire by blows; but found it impossible to rid themselves of the females, who dared them to fire their pieces, exclaiming that they had rather be shot than starved. When this scene had been repeated several evenings, the commanders, greatly affected with the sight of such heart-rending distresses, resolved in council to make application to Fairfax for twenty days cessation of hostilities, and passes for a certain number of gentlemen to proceed to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in order to acquaint themselves with his actual condition; accompanying this application with an engagement to surrender at the expiration of the time named, if it proved true that Sir Marmaduke was not on his advance to Colchester, and that no hopes of aid from any other quarter remained. A trumpeter was dispatched with a letter to this purport; but the requests were peremptorily denied; and Fairfax intimated that he would be in the town in person in less than twenty days, by which the



besieged concluded him to be preparing for another attempt to storm. Lord Norwich, therefore, sent him word, that he, and his fellow officers, were willing, in compassion to the town's-people, to surrender upon honourable terms; but with regard to the threatened storm, they were fully prepared for it, let him come when he pleased. Fairfax returned no answer to this until the 20th, when he sent what he termed his last offers of mercy; which were these: that, upon a peaceable surrender, all the private soldiers, and the officers under the degree of captain in commission, should have their lives, be exempted from plunder, and be allowed passes to proceed to their respective dwellings; but that all the captains and superior officers, with all the Lords and gentlemen, whether volunteers or in commission, must surrender at discretion, with an engagement only that they should not be plundered by the soldiers. These offers were immediately rejected.

August 21. The town's-people renewing their outcries for a surrender, and for bread, the commanders ordered one of the gates to be set open, and gave them free leave to quit the place, should it prove in their power: numbers ventured, accordingly, to the enemy's camp; but the out-guards firing upon them, as they had been ordered, they retreated with precipitation, and the gate was again opened to receive them. The stores were now reviewed for the last time: when it was found, that there remained not ammunition enough to maintain a two hours' fight with the enemy, in the event of a storm being attempted, nor bread sufficient to last the army more than two or three days; while that nearly all the horses had already been slaughtered. Indeed, the dismounted troopers had now for some time been corps of infantry, armed with scythes, a quantity

of which were found in the town, affixed to long staves; while their officers, with shouldered halberds, headed them on foot: the ready zeal of Lord Capel led him to be prominent in this surrender of his dignity to the anticipated good effects of example.

Every commander, and, apparently, every private soldier, was still resolute to abide the expected storm, and die with arms in his hands, rather than yield: but the Mayor and Aldermen, with the inhabitants in general, once again petitioning the council to treat with the enemy, they sent Dr. Glisson, a physician of the town, to propose articles to Fairfax. But the Doctor returning with an answer from that General, to the effect that "the besieged having held out so long against him, the utmost they might now expect from him was to be permitted to surrender at mercy, the common soldiers and inferior officers alone being allowed to return to their homes," the resolution was once more taken to resist to the last, and brave all consequences. What especially confirmed Fairfax in this inexorable mood, was information which at the moment reached him, that the united Scots and English Royalists in Lancashire had received a total defeat from the Parliament's forces under Cromwell.

August 22nd, early in the morning, more arrows were shot into the town, from various parts of the enemy's line, with papers attached to them, on which appeared the following:

"August 21, 1648. Whereas on Sunday last, in a letter to the Lord Goring,\* Lord Capell, and Sir Charles Lucas, Conditions were offered to all private soldiers, and inferior officers under Captains, to have liberty to

\* His Lordship was not allowed his title of *Earl of Norwich* by the Parliament.

go to their severall homes, without injury or violence; and all superior Officers, Lords, and Gentlemen, to submit to Mercy: and whereas the same hath been concealed from the Souldiers and inferior Officers aforesaid:\* Nevertheless, if they will before Thursday next lay hold on the said Conditions, and come away in a body from the enemy, the same Conditions shall be performed to them which have been offered; but in case they shall suffer the Town's People, (whom we will not receive) to be turned out of the town, and suffer them to perish under the Walls, they must expect no Mercy: and if the Town's-men in arms shall joyne with the soldiery, in coming forth in a body as aforesaid, they shall also be free from violence."

The hopes entertained from this stratagem by the Parliamentarians, are sufficiently apparent; but, like all their precursors of the same kind, they were destined to be disappointed. New propositions had been the day before submitted from the council to Fairfax by Dr. Glisson, who was on this occasion accompanied by one of the Chelmsford Committee; when the more ostensible object of these gentlemen had been to mediate for the towns-people with the General; but the latter sent no other reply, than that "he had given a former account of what conditions he would grant; and those he would stand to, and no other need be expected."

The meanest of the soldiery had as yet maintained a strict obedience to their officers' commands, and uncorruptedly withstood all the political engines the enemy had employed to alienate them from their duty. And now, by the seemingly unalterable severity of the foe, the resolutions of all were inflamed to the

\* As the Parliamentarians believed, from none having been found to take advantage of their proposal.

execution of some desperate project, the issue of which should be deliverance or death. And that all, of every rank, might unite in the performance of some such design, with the affection and confidence of brethren, the officers and gentlemen drew up and signed the following engagement, which was published throughout the garrison.

"We whose names are hereunto written, do, in the presence of Almighty God, protest against all conditions, which are or shall be sent from the enemy, by which our liberties may be infringed, and our honors blemished. And we do upon our honors, solemnly engage ourselves not to desert one another, nor the foot-soldiers, till, by God's assistance, we have forced our passage through all that shall oppose us, or to perish in the act; which we attest this three and twentieth of August, one thousand six hundred and forty-eight."

The next day, the Parliamentarians sent up a paper kite, which, after being allowed to hover some time over the town, in order that the whole garrison might notice it, was suffered to drop into the place; when many of the former paper proposals were found affixed to it, together with a book containing "*The Relation of a great Victory over the Scots, and their general Rout.*" Within two hours after this, the enemy fired a triumphant volley of great and small shot throughout the leaguer; and the shot falling thick into the town, excited a general impression that a storm was immediately to be attempted; an impression, that gave universal animation to the besieged, as they saw in such an attempt a termination to their sufferings, either by death or the defeat of their opponents. And indeed they were prepared to meet any such enterprise with every species of deadly resistance, which ingenuity could suggest to

the hearts of desperate men: having, among other things, provided a large quantity of pitch, which every night was kept boiling in iron cauldrons all round the line; together with long ladles, for the purpose of casting it over the rampart upon the heads of the assailants. But the Parliament's General was too politic to risk all upon so difficult and dangerous an effort, as storming must infallibly have proved; and he was too confident besides of a slower but more bloodless victory. His approaches upon the south-east quarter of the town, had by this time brought his men so near under the shelter of the wall, (yet standing,) that had formerly enclosed St. Botolph's Priory garden, that the Parliamentarians from the trenches, and the Royalists from the line, frequently conversed, and, by way of amusement, threw stones at each other.

August 25th, the council again met at an early hour, and resolved, as their enemy appeared so backward to undertake a storm, if possible to provoke him to it. They accordingly sent him word, that "since he denied to treat upon any conditions that were honourable, notwithstanding that their actions and demeanours in the service had been nothing but what became honour and fidelity, if he were pleased to make an attempt of attacking them, he should not need to spring any mine, as he boasted he had already done: but that any gate of the town he might make choice of should be set open, and his entrance disputed afterwards."

This message, as may be imagined, produced no effect upon the generally imperturbable spirit of Fairfax. Whereupon, considering that Cromwell's defeat of the Royalists in Lancashire had deprived them of their last hope of relief, and that provisions remained not for more than a day longer, the council of war came to

their final resolution, which was this: to draw the whole garrison out in arms at the dearest time of night, and, setting two of the gates open, march out, and storm the enemy's line and head-quarters; thus forcing their way through all opposition, or perishing in the attempt. And to prevent suspicion on the part of the foot-soldiers, that it was the intention of such gentlemen as had horses remaining to leave them engaged with the enemy while they sought their own safety by flight, it was determined that all such should pistol their horses at the head of the troops prior to setting out. The design being universally agreed upon, and secrecy enjoined, the council broke up, and every man betook himself to such preparations as he deemed necessary to the part he was to perform in the intended enterprise. Bag and baggage were very generally determined to be left behind: the soldiers rightly concluding, that if they gained their hoped-for victory, they could command them again, and their enemies to boot, and that if they failed, it was certain they would have no farther need of them.

It might be difficult to calculate the chances of success or failure from the resolute prosecution of such an undertaking. But too true it is, that, when all things were in readiness for the march, disagreement and disunion grew up among the unhappy Royalists, and prevented them from making the attempt. Some of the officers began to allege many arguments for delay till the ensuing night, saying that they should then be in a far better condition for the work; and, at their intercession, it was agreed to be suspended. But, in the interim, the suspicion, whose rise had been too justly dreaded, of the officers having private intentions in the proposal they had made, unfortunately suggested itself to some of the

private soldiers, and was fanned by the seditious spirits of others into the flame of mutiny. This proceeded so far, that many threatened to cast their officers over the line, and make articles with the enemy for themselves: and though, by the uncommon exertions of the commanders, order and confidence were in great degree restored, yet it was judged impracticable to execute what had been intended, with men, upon whom a just reliance could not, immediately after such an exhibition of refractoriness, be placed.

It was resolved, therefore, without farther delay, to dispatch a competent person to Fairfax, with full powers to obtain and accept of the best terms for the garrison he could. Colonel Tuke, "complete in honour and integrity," was selected for this service; who, proceeding upon the 26th to the enemy's camp, found the General, (at the instigation, it is said, of his council of war,) fallen even from those conditions he had formerly offered. For he declared, that since the inferior officers and soldiers had let slip the opportunity of making separate terms with him, they should now have nothing but fair quarter; that the lords, general-officers, captains, &c. should be rendered up to mercy; that the Committeemen under restraint in the town should be forthwith released: and, upon consent given to these preliminaries, that he would treat for the orderly performance of the fair quarter offered, and as to securing the town from plunder. The Colonel arrived late at night in the town, with information of his having accepted these hard, and (to fellow-subjects and countrymen) insulting terms.

Next morning, being Sunday the 27th, the Committeemen were returned to their party; accompanied by Colonel Tuke, and five other officers, who were instructed to confirm and sign articles for the surrender.

The soldiers of both armies were already mixed together at many parts of the line, and no hostilities committed on either side; as if the Royalists had been absolute prisoners, although no treaty was actually made. Towards night, the officers returned; and brought with them a copy of the following articles, which were to be put in execution the next morning.

*Articles agreed upon the 27th of August, 1648, by and betweene the Commissioners of his Excellency the Lord Generall Fairfax, on th' one Part; and the Commissioners of the Earl of Norwich, Lord Capell, and Sir Charles Lucas, on the other Part; for and concerning the Rendition of the Town and Garrison of Colchester.*

1. That all the Horses belonging to the Officers, Souldiers, and Gentlemen, ingaged in Colchester, with saddles and bridles to them, shall be brought into Maries Church-yard, by 9 of the clock to-morrow morning, and the spare saddles and bridles into that church, and delivered without wilful spoyle to such as the Lord Generall shall appoint to take charge of them.

2. That all the Arms, Colours, and Drums, belonging to any of the persons in Colchester above-mentioned, shall be brought into St. James' Church, by ten of the clock to-morrow morning, and delivered without wilful spoyle or embeazlement to such as the Lord Generall shall appoint to take charge of them.

3. That all private Souldiers, and Officers under Captaines, shall be drawne together into the Fryers Yard, adjoining to the East-Gate, by ten of the clock to-morrow morning, with their Clothes and Baggage, their persons to be rendered into the custody of such as the Lord Generall shall appoint to take charge of them; and that they shall have faire Quarter, according to the



explanation made in the answer to the first Quære of the Commissioners from Colchester, which is hereunto annexed.

4. That the Lords, and all Captaines, and superiour Officers, and Gentlemen of quality, ingaged in Colchester, shall be drawne together to the King's Head, with their Clothes and Baggage, by eleven of the clock to-morrow morning, and there render themselves to the mercy of the Lord Generall, into the hands of such as he shall appoint to take charge of them, and that a list of the names of all the Generall Officers, and Field Officers, now in command in the Towne, be sent out to the Lord Generall by nine of the clock in the morning.

5. That all the Guards within the Towne of Colchester, shall be withdrawne from the Line, Forts, and other places, by eight of the clock to-morrow morning, and such as the Lord Generall shall appoint shall thereupon come into their roomes.

6. That all the Ammunition shall be preserved in the places where it lyes, to be delivered to the Comptroller of his Excellencies Traine by ten of the clock to-morrow morning; and all the waggon's belonging to the Souldiery, or Persons engaged, with the Harnesse belonging thereunto, shall be brought to some convenient place neare the Ammunition, to be delivered to the same person by the same houre.

7. That such as are wounded and sick in the Towne, shall be there kept and provided for, with accommodation requisite for men in their condition, and not removed thence untill they be recovered, or able without prejudice to their healths to remove, and shall have such Chyrurgions allowed to looke to them as are now in the Towne.

8. That all Ordnance in the Towne, with their appurtenances, shall, without wilful spoyle, be left at the severall platformes, or places where they are now planted, and so delivered to his Excellencies Guard, that shall take the charge of those places respectively.

9. That from henceforth there shall be a Cessation of Arms on both parts, but the Forces within the Town to keep their own Guards, and the Lord Generalls to keepe theirs, untill they shall be removed according to the Articles aforegoing.

Signed by us,

The Commissioners on the behalf  
of his Excellency the Lord  
Fairfax.

THO. HONYWOOD  
H. IRETON  
THO. RAINSBOROWE  
EDWARD WHALLEY  
WIL. BLOYS  
BRAM. GURDON  
J. SPARROW  
ISAAC EWER  
THO. COOKE  
G. BARNARDISTON

The Commissioners on the behalf  
of the E. of Norwich, the L.  
Capel, and Sir Charles Lucas.

WILLIAM COMPTON  
AB. SHIPMAN  
EDW. HAMMOND  
S. TUKE  
WILLIAM AYLOFFE

(The Queries, with their answers, alluded to in the foregoing document, were as follow.)

*Heith, August 27, 1648.*

*Queries propounded by the Commissioners from Colchester, to the Commissioners of his Excellency the Lord Fairfax, upon the Conditions sent into the Towne.*

1. *What is meunt by faire Quarter?*—2. *What by rendring to Mercy?* Answ. To the first: By faire Quarter we understand, that with Quarter for their lives

they shall be free from wounding or beating; shall enjoy warme clothes to cover them and keep them warme; shall be maintained with victuals fit for prisoners while they shall be kept prisoners. To the 2nd: By *rendring to Mercy*, we understand, That they be rendred or render themselves to the Lord Generall, or whom he shall appoint, without certain assurance of Quarter, so as the Lord Generall may be free to put some immediately to the sword (if he see cause) although his Excellency intends chiefly and for the generality of those under that condition, to surrender them to the mercy of the Parliament and Generall. There hath been large experience, neither hath his Excellency given cause to doubt, of his civility to such as he shall retaine prisoners, although by their being rendred to mercy, he stands not engaged thereby.

(Upon the return of these answers, the Commissioners from Colchester "propounded these two further Quæries.")

1. *Whether those that were surrendered to Mercy, shall enjoy their wearing clothes, as well those on their backs, as what other change they have?*—2. *Whether the Noblemen and Officers shall have use of their owne Horses to the places where they shall be confined?* To which was answered by his Excellencies Commissioners. *To the first:* It is intended that those who shall be rendred and received to mercy, shall enjoy the wearing clothes on their backs; but for more the Generall will not be ingaged. *To the second:* It is expected (in case of surrender upon Treaty) that all Horses as well as Arms be delivered up; and for circumstances thereof there is to be an Article yet for the Gentlemen and Officers under this condition in question: when any of them shall be removed to the places of confinement, his

Excellency will take care for Horses to carry them (with respect to their qualities) but for allowing their owne Horses he will not be ingaged.

With the subscription of these articles ended, after a defence, in obstinacy seldom paralleled, of 76 days, (reckoning from the 13th of June to the 27th of August inclusively) the important and ever memorable Siege of Colchester by the Parliamentarians. When the surrender took place, the quantity of powder remaining with the garrison did not exceed a barrel and a half: although "many great shot" were found in the Lord Capel's quarters; that unweariedly zealous and disinterested nobleman having purchased of the soldiers, at the rate of sixpence a-piece, all they could find of such as had been discharged into the town by the enemy, in the hope of returning them to their line with interest. The number of horses to be delivered into the hands of the victors, it will be imagined, was very small; the Commissary's account, four days prior to the termination of the siege, having presented a list of 730 killed by him, and distributed to the soldiers; not to mention those that had been stolen out of the stables, or such as "gentlemen had slaughtered for their own private tables;" which, together, Matthew Carter was confident, made the number more than 800. The numerical amount of the garrison, at the signature of the articles, including the servants of the officers and gentlemen, was 3531.\*

\* Of these, the following is a complete list. *Noblemen and Gentlemen*: George Lord Goring, Earl of Norwich; Arthur, Lord Capel; Henry Hastings, Lord Loughborough; Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, Sir William Compton, Sir Bernard Gasoigne, Sir Abraham Shipman, Sir John Watts, Sir Lodowick Dyer, Sir Henry Apleton, Sir Dennard Strutt, Sir Hugh Oriley, Sir Richard Maulyverer, (who

The conditions were all duly performed on the part of the conquered Royalists, at the hour of the next morning arranged: the noblemen, gentry, &c. assembling at the King's Head Inn, and the rest of the army at their appointed places. About two o'clock in the afternoon Lord Fairfax entered the town, and rode round it, to view the line, and enjoy his triumph; wondering how a place so irregularly defended, should have held out so long against him. He then went to the quarters taken up for him in the town.

The crowning spectacle, the last sad scene, of this affecting tragedy, remained to be enacted. A council of war was assembled at the Moot-hall, or court of the town's civil jurisdiction: from which Colonel Ewer was soon sent a messenger to the King's Head, where were confined the Royalist gentlemen. They at first considered him to be a mere visitor, whose object in coming might be the generous condolence, which the bravest have ever bestowed upon a fallen foe. But they quickly

escaped, but was retaken.)—*Quarter-Master General*: Matthew Carter.—*Colonels*: Gilburne, Farre, (who escaped, but was retaken) Hammond, Chester, Till, Heath, Take, Ayloffe, Sawyer.—*Lieut.-Colonels*: Culpepper, Lancaster, Gough, Powell, Ashton, Baggeley, Wiseman, Smith.—*Majors*: Ascot, Smith, Armstrong, Warde, Bayley, Reade, Scarrow, Blyncott, Gennings.—*Captains*: Wicks, Pitts, Buley, Burdge, Bartrope, Lynsey, Myldmay, Osbodaton, Estwiok, Lovell, Cooper, Blunt, Snelgrave, Dynors, Dussen, Ward, Bushey, Payne, Hemor, Smith, Kennington, Heath, Rawson, Bayley, Stephens, Gennings, Lodge, Lynne.—*Captains-Lieutenant*: Caninge, White.—*Marshal-General*: Edward Goodyear.—*Commissary-General*: Tronley.—*Master of the Ordnance*: Francis Loveless.—*Waggon-master General*: Graviden. (All the foregoing were "rendred to mercy.")—*Lieutenants*: 72.—*Ensigns and Cornets*: 69.—*Sergeants*: 183.—*Servants to the Noblemen and Gentlemen*: 65.—*Private Soldiers*: 3067.—(Account published by John Wright, Septemb. 2, 1648.)

perceived that "he brought a sentence of death in his heart, though not in his mouth;" for it too "easily discovered itself in his death-like countenance." After saluting the noblemen, he approached Sir Charles Lucas; and, "with a slighting gesture," told him the Lord General desired to speak with him at the council of war, together with Sir George Lisle, Sir Bernard Gascoigne, and Col. Farre:—but the last-mentioned had absconded. Sir Charles Lucas, instantly presaging what was so soon to follow, answered but by a solemn farewell to the noblemen, and other prisoners nearest him: then calling to Sir George Lisle, (who, having been in discourse with some around him, heard not what Ewer had said,) that gallant knight, and Sir Bernard Gascoigne, proceeded with him to the council. Arriving at the Moot-hall, they were at first locked up in a strong room, and a guard placed over them at the door. After some farther debate amongst the members of the council, the knights were ushered into their presence: when they were summarily told, that "after so long and obstinate a defence, it was highly necessary, for the example of others, and that the peace of the kingdom might be no more disturbed, that some military justice should be executed; and the council had therefore determined that they, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and Sir Bernard Gascoigne, should be presently shot to death." They were then conducted to the Castle, and placed, as tradition says, in a dungeon which is yet shewn.

Meantime, the prisoners at the Inn were sighing forth prayers for their absent friends, and revolving in their distracted minds the probable event of the summons that had separated them. In about an hour after their parting, came a messenger from Sir Charles Lucas, desiring that Lord Capel's chaplain might be immediately

sent to him!—a message, that gave a death-chill to the hearts of all. The Lords, recovering from their first pause of horror and grief, requested to speak with Captain Cannon, an officer of the Parliament's on guard. On his appearance, they intreated him to hasten to the council of war; and, in their name, desire them not to make the gentlemen taken from them sufferers more than the rest: adding, that all having been equally concerned in the late transactions, it was but just for all to suffer alike; more especially as they themselves made it their particular supplication to be permitted to share the fate of their late comrades. The delivery of sentiments so worthy of the rank and character of these noblemen, altered not the fiat of the council: and soon afterwards, Ireton, (who, from the known implacability of his temper, may with reason be supposed to have taken a prominent part in the deliberations of his coadjutors,) proceeding to the imprisoned knights, bade them prepare for death; telling them, that "the sentence which had been passed was to be executed upon them directly." Sir Charles Lucas asked, "by what law they were to die?—Whether by ordinance of Parliament, by decree of the Council of War, or by the command of the General." To which Ireton answered, that, "it was by vote of the Council of War, according to an order of Parliament; by which order, all that were found in arms, were to be proceeded against as traitors." Sir Charles replied, "Alas! you deceive yourselves; me you cannot: but we are conquered, and must be what you please to make us." He then desired to be allowed till the next morning, to settle his affairs in this world, and, above all, to prepare and fit his soul for another. But the stern Parliamentary informing him his request could not be complied with, he said "Sir, do not think

I make this request out of any desire I have to live, or escape the death you have doomed me to, for I scorn to ask life at your hands; but that I might have time to make some addresses to God above, and settle some things below, that I might not be thrown out of this world with all my sins about me. But since it will not be by your charity, I must submit to the mercy of God, whose holy will be done. Do your worst: I shall soon be ready for execution." Sir George Lisle in like manner desired a little respite in order that he might write to his father and mother; but his request being equally denied, he submitted himself in silence to his fate. Lord Capel's chaplain was then sent for, as related above; and both devoted the short remains of life they were to enjoy, to fervent prayer with the clergyman, and receiving the sacrament from his hands.

About seven o'clock in the evening, the two English knights, with Sir Bernard Gascoigne, were conducted to the place of execution, which was "a green spot of ground on the north side of the castle, a few paces from the wall;" where they were received by Colonels Ireton, Rainsborowe, and Whaley, with the three files of musqueteers who were to dispatch them. Here the foreign knight was granted a reprieve, for reasons not very satisfactorily assigned by historians:\* of the other two,

\* "Sir Bernard Gascoigne," we are told by Matthew Carter, "was a gentleman of Florence; and had served the king in the war, and afterwards remained in London till the unhappy adventure of Colchester, and then accompanied his friends thither: and being brought to the place of execution, had only English enough to make himself understood, that he desired a pen, ink, and paper, that he might write a letter to his Prince, the Great Duke, that his Highness might know in what manner he lost his life, to the end his heirs might possess his estate. The officer that attended the execution thought fit to acquaint the General and Council, without which he durst not







Eng<sup>d</sup> by J. G. Grog.

SIR GEORGE LISLE.

Pub<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 20, 1824 for the Proprietors F. Youngman & J. Grog  
by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Swinburne & Walter Colchester.

Sir Charles Lucas was pitched upon for the first sufferer; while his friend, that he might not see him fall, was conveyed to a short distance.

Sir Charles Lucas, being placed in a position to receive his fate, said: "I have often looked death in the face in the field of battle, and you shall now see I dare die." He fell on his knees, and remained in a posture of devotion a few minutes; then rising up, with a cheerful countenance, he opened his doublet, so as to bare his breast, and called out to his executioners, "See, I am ready for you; and now, rebels, do your worst." At the words, they fired; and the balls piercing him in four several places, he fell, and expired without another syllable.

Sir George Lisle was then brought to the spot, where yet lay the bleeding body of his friend. Kneeling down by the corpse, he kissed it, and, in affecting terms, praised highly the extraordinary qualities, and unspotted honour of the deceased. Then standing up, he took from his pocket five pieces of gold, being what money he had about him, and gave one to be distributed amongst his executioners, and the other four to a person standing near him, who had some years before been his servant. These latter he desired the same person to deliver to his friends in London, as his last legacy; concluding with

allow him pen and ink, which he thought he might reasonably demand; when they were informed of it, they thought it a matter worthy some consideration: they had chosen him out of the list for his quality, conceiving him to be an English gentleman; and preferred him for being a knight, that they might sacrifice three of that rank. After a consultation held, Sir Bernard was ordered to be brought back, and kept with the prisoners; most of the council of war being of opinion, that if they took away the life of a foreigner, who seemed to be a person of quality, their friends or children, who should visit Italy, might pay dear for many generations."

some filial expressions of duty to his father and mother, and recommendations to particular friends. Turning to the spectators, he said: "oh! how many of your lives who are now present here, have I saved in hot blood, and must now myself be most barbarously murdered in cold! But what wicked act dare they not do, who would willingly cut the throat of my dear King, whom they have already imprisoned: for whose deliverance, and the peace of this unhappy nation, I dedicate my last prayers to Heaven." He looked at the file of soldiers who were standing prepared to execute their bloody office, and thinking them placed at too great a distance to perform it effectually, desired them to come nearer to him: on which one of them answered, "I'll warrant you, sir, we'll hit you." Sir George, smiling, replied, "I have been nearer you, friends, when you have missed me."

Not having yet performed his last devotions, he knelt down for some minutes; and, after uttering many invocations in the name of Christ, rose up, and said: "I am now ready: traitors, do your worst."—The words had scarcely issued from his mouth, when they fired: and some of the balls passing through his body, he dropped dead immediately. The ghastly corpses of both these unfortunate gentlemen were then conveyed to a vault in the church of St. Giles, Colchester, belonging to the Lucas family; where the coffins containing their remains, may still be seen by the curious stranger.\*

It might prove a matter of some difficulty for the warmest admirers of Lord Fairfax, to clear his character from the imputation of an uncalled-for and cruel severity, in the military execution of these two gallant knights, and truly honourable gentlemen; notwithstanding that the chief odium of the transaction was very

\* See Church of St. Giles, Part II. chap. 3.



GENERAL LORD FAIRFAX.

Painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, Bart. 1664. Engraved by  
J. Smith, 1724. and W. J. Smith, 1724.





generally, and, it is probable, very justly, laid upon "Ireton, who swayed the General, and was, upon all occasions, of an unmerciful and bloody nature."\* Not an individual could exist in the kingdom, at a period so unsettled and calamitous, who was not at least equally free to espouse, from principle and conscience, the cause of imprisoned Royalty, as that of a triumphant Parliament: and when either party had ventured their lives in open contest with their opponents, and had been subdued, every noble and generous feeling declared the military duties of the conquerors to be ended. The *Petition*, the presentation of which to the Parliament at Westminster was made the ostensible object of the assembled Kentish and Essex Royalists, evinced, as did most of the loyal declarations of the same time, a desire to restore, not an arbitrary and oppressive King, but a monarch limited by a renewed contract with his people to govern by the known laws and constitutions of the realm. Such moderate Royalists might, and, as the writer who ventures upon these remarks humbly thinks, did, deceive themselves in imagining that Charles could be safely trusted as a party to such a contract: their privilege to form a more favourable opinion of him could be destroyed by no arguments for its erroneousness: and if they erred, their error was one, from which Cromwell, nay, Ireton himself, and, with them, the most talented and best on the Parliament's side, had not very long escaped. Cromwell made strenuous, though secret, efforts to restore the King, until he was convinced, by personal experience, that Charles was "so great a dissembler, and so false a man, he was not to be trusted."† The

\* Carter.

† Vide "Oliver Cromwell and his Times," 2nd Ed. 8vo. p. 220.

martyred knights, and their coadjutors in arms, of Colchester, attempted but the same thing: only they attempted it with less prudence and circumspection; but with an open, fearless disregard of consequences to themselves, that irresistibly wins over the heart to honour and pity them.\*

\* There are passages in Fairfax's letter to the Parliament, giving an account of the successful termination of the Siege, and in that part of his "Memorial" which relates to the same event, both seeming to betray his consciousness of having exceeded the bounds which duty prescribed to him, in his treatment of the Royalist knights. His letter, which was addressed to the Earl of Manchester, as Speaker of the House of Peers, ran as follows:

"My Lord, I have herewith sent you the Articles, with the Explanations annexed, upon which it hath pleased God in his best time to deliver the town of Colchester, and the enemy therein, into your hands without further bloodshed, (saying that for some satisfaction to Military Justice, and in part of avenge for the innocent blood they have caused to be spilt, and the trouble, damage, and mischief they have brought upon the Towne, this Country, and the Kingdome) I have, with the advice of a Counsell of Warre of the chiefe Officers both of the Country Forces and the Army, caused two of them who were rendred at mercy to be shot to death before any of them had Quarter assured them. The persons pitched upon for this example were, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle; *in whose Military execution I hope your Lordships will not find cause to thinke your Honour or Justice prejudiced.* As for the Lord Goring, Lord Capell, and the rest of the persons rendred to mercy, and now assured of Quarter, of whose names I have sent your Lordships a particuler List; I doe hereby render to the Parliaments judgment for further publique Justice and Mercy to be used as you shall see cause. I desire God may have the glory of his multiplyed mercies towards you and the Kingdome in this kinde, and, in the condition of instruments as to the service here, the Officers and Souldiers of Essex and Suffolk (who in this time of so dangerous defection have adhered constant to yours and the Kingdomes inte-



The "loyal sacrifice" being completed, Fairfax, accompanied by his chief officers, paid a visit to the remaining prisoners at the Inn; the majority of whom received him with scarcely concealed aversion and disgust.\* Applying himself to the Earl of Norwich, and Lord Capel, he "seemed in some degree to excuse that which, he said, "the military justice demanded:" and proceeded to say, "that the lives of all the rest were safe; that they should be well treated; and disposed of as the Parliament should direct." But Lord Capel bluntly answered, that "the General should have received their thanks, if he had saved the lives of the two worthy knights who had been executed, which they valued above their own:" but now, "Sir Thomas

rest) for their faithful demeanour and patient endurance in the hardships of this service are not to be forgotten.

Your Lordships most humble servant,

Hieth, 29 Aug.

T. FAIRFAX.

1648.

In his "Memorial," his Lordship thinks it necessary to explain, that, by "*delivering upon Mercy, is to be understood that some are to Suffer, the rest to go Free.*" Again, he appears to be apologising, when he says: "But Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, being mere Soldiers of Fortune, and falling into our hands by chance of war, were executed: *and in this I did nothing but according to my Commission, and the Trust reposed in me.*" It also deserves passing animadversion, that his Lordship mis-states the facts, when he calls these gentlemen "mere Soldiers of Fortune," that is, persons who depend upon their swords for subsistence; for Sir Charles Lucas, in particular, had a competent estate, and was heir besides to the title and fortune of his brother, the Lord Lucas.

\* Morant thinks it "not probable" that Fairfax should visit in person the confined Royalists, although Lord Clarendon asserts as much: he rather chooses, he says, "to follow the account of Quarter-Master-General Carter." Now it is remarkable, that Carter expressly narrates the same fact, and enters minutely into particulars.

Fairfax, and the Officers, would do well to finish their work, by executing the same rigour on the rest." This reply greatly displeased Fairfax, and his companions: Ireton, in particular, could not digest it: upon which, "several sharp and bitter expressions passed between Ireton and his Lordship," which are supposed to have been very instrumental in conducting this brave and generous nobleman to the scaffold a few months after.

The rest of the prisoners were disposed of in various ways. The Lords Norwich and Capel were sent to Windsor Castle; and from thence, in the following year, brought to trial in the Painted Chamber at Westminster Hall. Lord Capel, as we have said, was executed; but the Earl of Norwich, through an office of private friendship, escaped.\* Of the remainder of those "rendred to mercy," the most considerable in point of rank were transmitted to prisons, "as contrary and far distant from their own homes," it is said, as their persecutors could contrive: and a certain number were distributed to every regiment in the Parliament's army, to ransom themselves upon such terms as should be approved of by their military gaolers. The private sol-

\* "The Earl of Norwich" having "always lived a cheerful and jovial life, without contracting many enemies, had many who wished him well, and few who had animosity against him; so that when the question was put concerning him, the House was equally divided; the votes which rejected his petition, and those who would preserve his life, were equal; so that his life or death depended upon the single vote of the Speaker: who told the House that he had received many obligations (from the prisoner;) and that once, when he had been like to have incurred the King's displeasure, the *Lord Goring* had by his credit preserved him; and therefore he was obliged in gratitude to give his vote for the saving him. By this fortune he came to be preserved; whether the ground of it were true or no, or whether the Speaker made it only as an excuse to save a man's life who was put to ask it in that place."—*Carter*.

diers, and inferior officers, were "shut up in the churches, where they immediately placed guards over them, and gave free liberty to their foot soldiers to go and pillage them; so that in a very short time there were very few or none left with any clothes on them, and hardly shirts. And after having thus pillaged and stript them, they marched them away, in a day when it rained violently, and conducted them from place to place in the country, lodging them in churches, and such places, till many of them were starved; and divers, who could not march by reason of their faintness, they pistolled in the highways; and some they sold (as before they did the Scots) to be transported into foreign countries, from their wives and children, no matter to what part of the world, so they were once gone."\*

Colchester itself was treated with as great rigour by the conquerors, as though its inhabitants had *not* approved themselves among the most staunch and consistent supporters of the Parliament, until that unlucky hour when a Royalist armament was obtruded perforce within their walls. On pretext of excusing the town from plunder, Fairfax imposed upon it a fine of £14,000; of which £2000 were afterwards most generously remitted by him. Of the sum he exacted, one half was demanded, by a very partial severity, of the Dutch Congregation of Bay and Say Makers, who had been among the greatest sufferers by the Siege; and who, though they actually raised £5980 for their share, could with difficulty procure the return of £100 from the authorities of the town itself, when £2000 were appropriated by the Parliament's General to the relief of the distressed poor of the place generally.

\* Carter.

The remaining £10,000 were divided amongst the victorious soldiers.

Nor were these the only losses sustained by the town, through a calamity so dreadfully afflictive as this Siege. For, not to mention the demolition of the walls in many places, both by the batteries of Fairfax, and his orders after the surrender for their more complete dilapidation; the number of houses destroyed in six only of the twelve parishes within and about the walls, was as follows:

In the parish of St. Mary at the Walls,	51 burnt & ruined
In ————— Holy Trinity .....	32 ditto ditto
In ————— St. Martin .....	5 pulled down
In ————— St. James .....	28 burnt
In ————— St. Giles .....	17 ditto
In ————— St. Botolph .....	53 ditto & ruined.

To which must be added, that the magnificent church of St. Botolph, which had been attached to the ancient Priory of the same name, was laid in ruins; and various other churches in the town more or less seriously injured: while the damage to the goods and general property of the inhabitants was immense, as compared with the size and population of the place.

“Such,” in conclusion observes Morant, “was the end of this unhappy affair; which shattered and demolished a great part of ‘so eminent a Town,’ as the Lord Fairfax called it at his first coming: deprived it of the advantage of the residence, neighbourhood, beneficence, and protection, of the considerable families of Lucas, and Sir Harbottle Grimston, by destroying their seats: brought the trading part, nay, almost all the inhabitants, of it, into inexpressible poverty and

distress; and plunged them into calamities, from which many were never able to recover themselves. Happy would it have been for Colchester, if the Royalists had not bent their course this way, or had dealt with a more expeditious or generous enemy than Fairfax!"—

From this period, until the investiture of Oliver Cromwell with the Protectorate, this town, and the kingdom in general, groaned under the usual oppressions of a government by the sword; and was subjected besides to taxes so onerous, as in about five years to amount to £16,000. The arbitrary powers necessary to the security of a *Protector*, chosen from the people to fill the regal seat, rendered it impossible for Cromwell to continue his anomalous sovereignty in the spirit of equity and moderation with which he had commenced it; and when, under him, military dominancy reached its climax in the appointment of *Major-Generals*, to superintend not only the military but the civil concerns of their several districts, Colchester, being comprehended in the deputyship of Major Haynes, was favoured with a suspension of its powers to elect to its own corporate employments; as well as with the following *Mandamus* from the Protector, addressed to that officer.

“OLIVER P.

“There haveing beene of late severall Complaints from the Auncient Aldermen and divers other well affected Inhabitants of the Towne of Colchester, that for some tyme past ellections have bin made of severall persons to the Government thereof who are altogether unable of publike employment, to the great discouragement of many honest Men liveing in and about that Towne, wherupon we did the 28th day of June last order that there should be a forbearance of ellection of

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persons into the Magistracy, or Common Councell, of the said Towne till we should otherwise determine: And forasmuch as we are informed that Arthur Barnadiston the Recorder of the said Towne is lately deceased, by which vacancy, and the not appointing of other Officers for this present yeere, the said Towne is under some streights and inconveniences: And understanding that you are shortly to be at the said Towne, Our will and pleasure is, that at your comeing thither you give directions to the Mayor, that whilst you are there, they proceede to the ellections of a Recorder and also of a Mayor and other officers for the present yeere, in which ellection you are to take speciall care that the Ellectors and ellected be qualified according to our late Proclamation: And certifie the names of the persons soe ellected unto us, that being approved they may be sworne accordingly, and also to give us a speedy account herein. Given at Whitehall the 4th of December, 1655."

The dreadful *Plague* which raged in London in the year 1665, made its appearance in this Town in August of the same year, and continued its ravages until December, 1666: during which time it occasioned the deaths of 4731 persons; agreeably to the account following:

From Aug.	14 to Sept.	8.....	214
— Sept.	8 to Oct.	6.....	578
— Oct.	6 to Nov.	3.....	392
— Nov.	3 to Dec.	1.....	276
— Dec.	1 to 29th.	.....	180
— Dec.	29 to Jan.	26.....	131
— Jan.	26 to Feb.	23.....	115
— Feb.	23 to March	23.....	164
— March	23 to April	27.....	387

From April	27 to May	25.....	584
— May	25 to June	29.....	619
— June	29 to July	27.....	611
— July	27 to Aug.	31.....	368
— Aug.	31 to Sept.	28.....	79
— Sept.	28 to Oct.	26.....	25
— Oct.	26 to Nov.	30.....	12
— Nov.	30 to Dec.	7.....	1

The greatest number of deaths in any one week, was 195; viz. from the 15th to the 22nd of June, 1666. During this long season of affliction, the inhabitants received supplies of money from various quarters, for the relief and assistance of the poor; particularly the sum of £1311<sup>10</sup>s., raised from weekly collections in the churches of the metropolis. As some return for which last offering of benevolence, the townsmen of Colchester subscribed £103 8s. 9d. towards the relief of the sufferers by the great Fire of London in 1666.

In June, 1684, or towards the close of the reign of Charles II., Colchester, like so many other cities and boroughs, was deprived of its *Charter*, through the concurring sycophancy of its governors with the despotic will of the monarch. These worthy tools to the measures of absolute power, as "a testimony of their duty and loyalty, agreed to lay the Charter of this Corporation at his Majesty's feet; and then humbly to beseech his Majesty, to confirm the ancient customs and prescriptions of this Burrough, and to regrant them such privileges, as his Majesty in his princely wisdom should think meet." Accordingly, the Corporation was re-modelled by a new Charter of the 8th of November in this year; and again altered to the royal taste by James II., who placed and displaced its officers and members, by his mandates at

pleasure. But the reign of William and Mary saw the restoration of all its privileges and immunities to the ancient town, in a manner so complete and firmly authorized, that it required only common attention on the part of the townsmen to the prescribed mode of exercising their rights, in order to render their future possession as stable as the free government by which they were re-granted. Unfortunately, however, "through a very great and criminal neglect, no due care was taken, in elections, to have a due majority according to Charter."<sup>\*</sup> Hereby, the Corporation subjected themselves to "vexations and oppressive prosecutions;" and "great advantage was taken of the undue method of elections thus long used."<sup>†</sup> At length, informations, in the nature of *Quo-Warrantos* having been brought against the then Mayor and Aldermen, they disclaimed, upon record in the King's-Bench, April 6, 1742, their rights of acting as the elective magistrates of this borough; thus surrendering, without so much as a contest, those long-established privileges, which even the *accidents* of the law might have preserved to them. From that time until several years afterwards, no elections were attempted, and the Charter lay dormant.

Colchester, however, continued to possess men, who sighed over the extinction of their ancient liberties, and were resolved that no efforts should be wanting to restore them. These public-spirited individuals, whose memory should be ever affectionately cherished by the burgesses, persevered through a course of twenty years in this laudable endeavour; and at last, in the year 1763, after subduing every legal difficulty opposed to

<sup>\*</sup> Morant.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid.



the accomplishment of their object, saw their exertions crowned with success.\*

Having thus conducted our readers to the commencement of the reign of George III., neither civil broils, nor farther disturbances of corporate rights, (with the exception of a recent event of the latter nature, to be noticed under the head of "Chartered and Prescriptive Privileges,") occur to furnish matter important enough to claim relation in the pages of history. Nor are we aware that more remains to be observed in this part of the present work, than that the entire decay of the *Bay and Say Trade*, whose establishment by the Dutch refugees in 1571 has been recorded, has for many years ceased to be a subject of regret with the inhabitants; the gradual advancement of the agricultural interest in this kingdom to its recent climax of wealth and refinement, having created a demand for the productions of general shop-trade, which compensated for the loss of the ancient staple. Since the Peace, in common with other country towns, Colchester has experienced a considerable depression in this last species of trade; and may have regretted also its non-occupation by the large military establishments, that gave bustle and animation to its streets for several years during the late grand contest of Europe. But, doubtless, with the country in general, this ancient borough will eventually rejoice in returning to that calm and healthy state of moderate prosperity, which if England be content to acquire by a continuance of her present repose, she will reap the best reward for her past unequalled exertions.

\* For an account of the Chartered and Prescriptive Privileges of Colchester, see Part II. chap. 5.

END OF PART I.



**PART II.**

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**PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION  
OF THE TOWN AND BOROUGH:**

**CHARTERED AND PRESCRIPTIVE PRIVILEGES: GO-  
VERNMENT: REPRESENTATION: TRADE: MUNICI-  
PAL, CHARITABLE, LITERARY, AND SCIENTIFIC  
INSTITUTIONS: ANTIQUITIES: &c. &c.**



## CHAP I.

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### THE WALLS.

**ONE** of the most remarkable features presented to the eye of the stranger by the ancient Town, consists, doubtless, in those remains of its massive **WALLS**, the evidences of its former strength, which continue in so considerable a degree to surround it. And we would advise no one who visits Colchester, in order to acquaint himself with whatever of curious or interesting it may contain, to omit the exterior perambulation of these remains; indeed, if he condescend to follow, in this respect, both our advice and example, he will perambulate them in the first place, taking them at the outset of his researches, as we make them the threshold of our description. By this method of proceeding, too, he will acquire such a general view of the form and contents of the place, as will best assist him in pursuing afterwards the separate objects most worthy of enquiry.

The line described by the Walls, is still in very great measure unbroken and continuous, presenting at various points distinct and large masses to the view; although, not unfrequently, it is so obscured by houses built upon or before it, that a stranger might almost touch these interesting ruins, and remain ignorant of their existence. Nay, many, it is possible, have again and again traversed the town, on purposes of pleasure or business, without acquiring from their visits the know-

ledge that Colchester was ever *walled*; especially since every appearance of this nature is concealed at nearly every outlet, through the destruction of all the gates, and the encroachments of buildings.

In form, the Walls approach a parallelogram, of which the longest sides are those to the north and south. Their extent in length, is 3077 yards, which are equal to nearly a mile and three quarters: the area enclosed by them contains 118 acres, 1 rood, and 22 perches. They are composed chiefly of stone, such as is found upon our eastern coasts, with a mixture of Roman brick: the cement, in its present state, infinitely stronger than that to be met with in modern architecture.\* Where perfect, says Morant, their facing consists of Roman brick, or of squared stones about seven or eight inches in diameter; but the appearance of few, if any, parts of the exterior, would now favour the supposition that Roman brick had ever constituted their facing, although considerable quantities of that material are clearly intermixed with the general composition. Their thickness varies: it is usually from seven to eight feet; but,

\* The reason, philosophically stated, that the mortar found in ancient buildings is so compact and hard—harder, in many cases, than the stone with which it is united—is, doubtless, this. Limestone becomes lime through burning; that is, by the action of fire it becomes pulverised, or, which is the same thing, loses that quantity of carbon it originally possessed, and which retained it in a solid form. The lapse of ages has enabled the mortar of such buildings as we are contemplating, to regain from the atmosphere its native proportion of carbon; through its reunion with which, it is again converted into limestone. There may, however, be one other reason, which is this; the cement of former times appears to have been always mixed with a pure grit or sand, and not with any earthy or other impurities upon which frosts are certain to act: but, excepting this, and the reason before-mentioned, there can be nothing to warrant our supposing the cement of the ancients to have been superior to that in modern use.

near where the gates and posterns formerly stood, much greater. Those gates and posterns were seven in number: namely, four of the former at the principal entrances; and three of the latter, opening from points of less importance.

The era, at which the Walls were *originally* built, must be referred, in common probability, to an early period of the occupation of the town by the Romans. The plan of the area they enclose, is essentially Roman; a circumstance that affords room for the idea, that their basis throughout was laid by artificers of that nation: still, the inference is not necessary, that any visible parts of the existing remains were the work of Roman hands. Their appearance throughout is exactly similar to that of the walls of the churches, and other buildings, of whose *Norman* origin there cannot be a question; the Roman bricks in them, as in all these edifices, having been taken, seemingly, from the rubbish of Roman erection that had become ruinous, and worked up with a large proportion, in most instances, of the stone of the country. While, therefore, we may fairly presume the Romans to have been the founders of these walls—as we have undoubted evidence that the Saxons on one occasion restored them\*—the composition of their ruins appears sufficiently to establish the fact, that they were in very great measure rebuilt by the Norman conquerors, those grand improvers alike of the military and ecclesiastical architecture of this island.

The preservation of the Walls being looked upon as an object of the first importance, until the perfection to which artillery was gradually brought rendered them

\* In the year 921, Edward the Elder repaired the Walls, which had been much damaged in his recent re-capture of the town from the Danes.—*Chron. Saxon. DCCCCXXI. pp. 108, 109.*

of comparative inutility, the magistracy of the town continued long to enforce the observance of such measures, as were necessary to keeping them in repair, and protecting them from wanton injury. The great expence hereby occasioned the town, is recorded to have procured from Richard II. a grant of land, of two messuages, and of the advowson of the Hospital of the Holy Cross, as an assistance to all future repairs: besides which, exemptions, on the same score, from sending representatives to Parliament, were on several occasions granted to the burgesses. And these anxious cares, and costly sacrifices, for the conservation of defences long deemed of so much consequence to the safety of the place, were persevered in, in a greater or less degree, until the destructive Siege of 1648 reduced them to a state, not greatly different from that in which they now appear. From that period, the authorities of the town having totally neglected them, their remains have been kept up by individuals, whose premises lay contiguous to their interior; and now serve, in a multitude of instances, as supports to their habitations, or as fences to their gardens and pleasure-grounds.—But we hasten to lay before the reader the remarks collected from the *perambulation* to which we alluded, and to which the observations already submitted in this chapter may be considered only as introductory.

Commencing our walk at where HEAD-GATE (the *Porta Capitalis* of ancient records) formerly stood, and choosing from thence an eastward direction, it will be necessary to enter Gutter Street; from whence, on the left, portions of the Wall are occasionally visible betwixt the houses, as it runs at a little distance in their rear. From its here taking the side of a pretty steep acclivity, the street we are pursuing is only level with its



base; although that on its inner side (called Sir Isaac's Walk\*) is even with the top of the ruins, on which account a person might there actually walk upon without perceiving it. For some way it forms the foundation of a modern wall, enclosing gardens and yards behind the houses in Gutter Street. At the spot where *Schere* or *Scherde-Gate* (in records South-Scherde or South-Postern) used to stand, there is now an ascent by steps, beneath the houses, to the upper street, nearly facing Trinity or Schere-Gate Street; while, opposite that postern, in the direction contrary to the town, is the way leading to the site of St. John's Abbey. Thence entering Black-Boy Lane, the rears of houses, and more modern walls, are alternately elevated upon the ruined line; and it is afterwards shut from view by the buildings, with the exception only of a few partial glimpses, until we reach one end of Botolph Street.

Here stood ST. BOTOLPH'S GATE, the last that remained to Colchester, and which did not totally disappear until about seven or eight years since. It took its name, as did the street just mentioned, from the adjacent Priory of St. Botolph, the ruins of which form an interesting spectacle on the right as we proceed along More Lane. The Wall now chiefly supports modern brick-work, enclosing gardens, more particularly that of Horatio Cock, Esq. At this part, and previously, occur remains of bastions, or small round forts, of which that at the south-east angle of the line, and of the garden mentioned, is conspicuous, and in comparatively good preservation. It is observable, that, throughout its whole extent south of the town, the line appears to have taken a pretty high ridge of the eminence on which

\* From Sir Isaac Rebow, of whom we shall shortly make farther mention, and who lived in the house at the head of the Walk.

Colchester is built, so as to command a good view of the opposite vale, and corresponding eminence.

From the south-east angle until it reaches the top of East Hill, the Wall encloses, first, a continuation of the grounds of H. Cock, Esq. and, secondly, adjoins part of the church-yard of St. James. EAST GATE, which was here situated, fell down in 1651, in consequence, we may suppose, of the injury done it by the Siege; and on the spot it occupied, were afterwards erected two brick pillars, of which no traces are now visible. Some of the ruins of the original Gate appear to have remained till 1675; as an order of that date occurs in the town books for their removal: indeed, the structure does not seem to have been effectually removed until a still later period.

Crossing the summit of East Hill, we enter a lane leading slightly from the object of our research, which is for some time hidden by the intervening grounds of the Rev. John Savill, whose handsome house, stuccoed, with Doric portico, fronts the street just quitted. Turning from the lane into the meadows that extend along the north side of the town, we again reach the wall at its north-east angle; from which point it lies open to the country for some distance, and is presented to the eye with various interesting combinations.

On the left, it bounds for some way the grounds in rear of the late residence of Mrs. Baskerfeild, but now the property of H. Cock, Esq.: and at this angle, on its exterior side, commences the fosse, or ditch, which formerly extended the greater part of its entire length north and west, and would seem to have been discontinued only where a morass, existing evidences of which soon appear, might be supposed to render it unnecessary. The fosse is still, for the most part, broad, deep,

and precipitous; and its long grassy mounds, with the landscape beyond them, on the one side, together with the many picturesque masses of the Wall, covered with ivy, on the other, compose a frequently pleasing scene. Trees now issue from the clefts of the ruin at and near the top, enveloping large portions with their foliage. The river appears taking its course along the valley on the right; and this description of scene, on either hand, continues till the line again communicates with the houses of the town. Approaching these, our walk is best pursued along the wall itself, whose summit is here covered with earth and green-sward, as we thus avoid the swampy ground lying without its base.

From this point, an interesting view is obtained of the *Castle*, at the distance of a meadow's breadth from the Wall; together with a portion of its grounds, now cultivated, and attached to the residence of Mrs. James Round. The ditch, which bounded the peculiar precincts, or *bailey*, of the Castle, on this as on its eastern side, is Mrs. Round's kitchen-garden: and on the high rampart thrown up from the contents of the hollow, is a broad gravelled walk, on both sides of which lofty trees are at this time flourishing.

The spot next occurs, where was anciently placed the postern vulgarly called *Rye-Gate*; more correctly Rhee or Rea-Gate, that is the River Gate, it having been the outlet leading to the river.—This gate, having sustained much damage probably in the Siege, was taken down in 1659.—The houses recommencing, the Wall supports the fronts of several. Afterwards, it becomes the foundation of a low modern wall, enclosing the little gardens of other habitations; and continues thus the basement of the walls of modern buildings, or of fences, until we reach the site of another principal gate, called NORTH GATE.

Houses stood upon the foundations of this Gate, and of adjoining portions of the Wall, on both sides the entrance-way, until the close of the year 1823; when a considerable improvement to the approach by North Hill, was effected by their removal: for the inlet here had been hitherto as narrow as that anciently afforded by the Gate itself; whereas it now corresponds, in that respect, with the ample width of the streets conducting to it.

From hence, crossing the bottom of North Hill, we proceed by the Balkerne or Balkon Lane, and gain the north-west angle, or more properly curve, which encloses the garden of Mr. Cobbold, brewer. Little more than the foundations now apparently remain for some yards, and these are concealed by a bank of earth, surmounted by palings. The lane begins to ascend at about this spot, taking a parallel direction with the western line, and itself very evidently constituting the ditch, that on this, as on the northern side, added to the town's security. The ascent is pretty steep; and the road throughout is along the hollow of the excavation, whose high banks are thrown against its opposite sides, lying against the base of the Wall on the one hand, while the footway, and several cottages and gardens, occupy the ridge of the slope on the other. Irregular, and occasionally picturesque, fragments of the Wall, patched with ivy, succeed; the ground within-side remaining void of houses, until we arrive at the ruins of a fort, called, by way of distinction, *The Balkon*, or chief bastion, from which the Balkon Lane takes name. From the great proportion of Roman bricks visible in these ruins, it is probable that they stand on or very near the site of a more ancient Roman fortress: and the name they formerly bore, and by which they are still sometimes

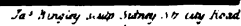
designated, *Colkynges Castle*, or the Castle of King Coel, points to the further probability, that here also was situated a strong fort of that British tributary monarch of this district. The spot being so commanding, as it crowns the brow of the eminence we have just ascended, and in fact constitutes very nearly the highest ground comprehended by the old town and walls, renders these probabilities the more striking; for the early fortifications of all nations were commonly placed upon such sites, and we know that the imperial conquerors were not less judicious in appropriating or selecting them.—It is observable, that in the Balkon, the Roman bricks are more in mass than in any other part of the Walls, where in general they occur singly, or at most a few courses of them together.—Within a part of the remains of this fort, now stands the King's Head public house; and another portion has preserved itself from the ravages of time until the present era, to be destined to the yet humbler occupation of a piggery.

The fosse, whose course we have previously endeavoured to mark, terminates at this point; and cottages and outbuildings are hence erected against the Wall, at short spaces from each other. The ruin is thus meanly accompanied to the site of the old *West Postern*, which led through St. Mary's church-yard, and in place of which stone steps were erected when that church was rebuilt rather more than a century back. It descends the hill from the church, after enclosing part of the burial-ground; and is then seen only at intervals, in rear of the houses, till it turns the south-west angle, and finally rejoins Head-Gate, the spot from whence we started.



1 King Cole's Pump	5 St. Nicholas Church
2 Moot Hall	6 All Saints Church
3 St. Peter's Church	7 St. James Church..
4 St. Runwolds Church	8 St. Giles Church. .

24 24 44 64 80 100 120 140 160 180 200 220 240 260 280 300 320 340 360 380 400 420 440 460 480 500 520 540 560 580 600 620 640 660 680 700 720 740 760 780 800 820 840 860 880 900 920 940 960 980 1000







## CHAP II.

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### PAROCHIAL DIVISION OF COLCHESTER.

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PARISHES WITHIN THE WALLS; VIZ. ST. MARY'S  
AT THE WALLS, ST. PETER'S, ST. RUNWALD'S,  
ST. MARTIN'S, HOLY TRINITY, ST. NICHOLAS'S,  
ALL SAINTS', AND ST. JAMES'S.

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COLCHESTER, with its Liberties, is divided into 16 parishes: of which eight are within,\* and four without, the ancient walls; and the remaining four are the Liberties. Of the period at which this parochial division was made, we have no certain account; and we are equally without authentic information of the respective eras at which the churches were erected. The well-known Domesday record, however, is sufficient evidence that St. Peter's church was in being before the conquest; and the foundations of the rest, (those attached to the religious houses excepted,) might with probability be referred to as early epochs in the Norman times, as might those of the ecclesiastical edifices of our other

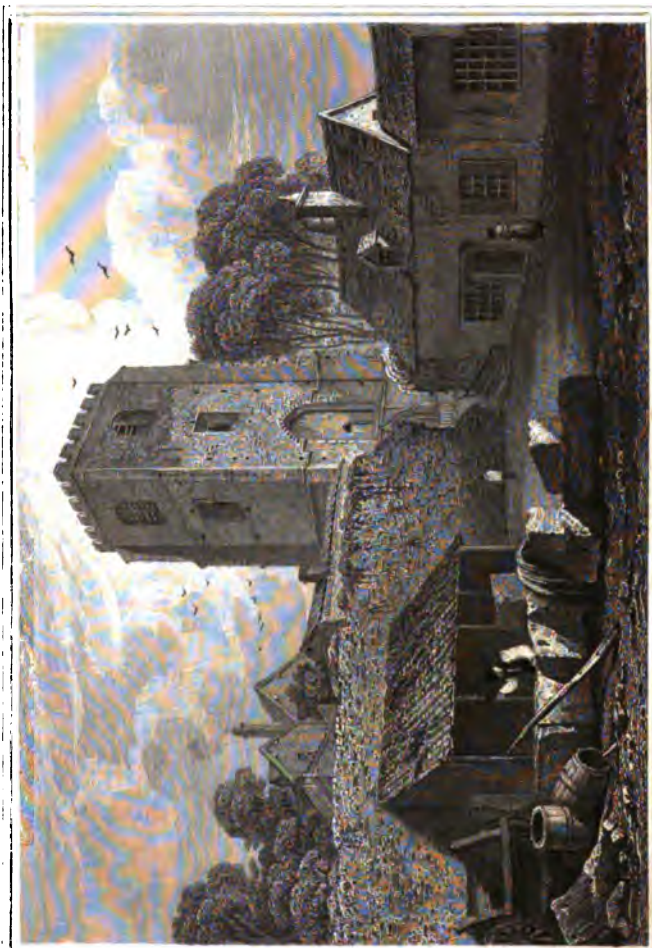
\* By the Parishes within the Walls, is to be understood those whose churches stand within the Walls. For the boundaries of most of them extend without those ancient remains, and in some cases run even a considerable distance into the country.

most ancient English towns. We are indeed warranted in the supposition, that they were generally *first* erected in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the pious inclination for rearing churches, or restoring them on an enlarged scale, principally prevailed; though there is nothing in the architectural style of the *existing* buildings, to favour the idea that any visible parts of them are so old as the original foundations. In regard to those excepted as attached to the religious houses, they of course did not exist until those houses themselves were founded; which was about the twelfth century, and later in some instances.

Nearly all these Churches are built with Roman brick, mingled with the rubbish of edifices far more ancient than themselves. Their appearance, in several instances, is by no means striking; though, on the other hand, the most modern possess regular and handsome features. We shall commence our particular description with some account of that of St. Mary at the Walls, the only object of interest within the parish bearing the same designation; and pursue throughout the parochial division mentioned, throwing each chapter of our narrative into as many parts as there are parishes.

#### 1.—PARISH OF ST. MARY AT THE WALLS.

The *Church* of this parish, dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, and called in record St. Mary's *ad Murum*, or *Muros*, is so termed to distinguish it from that belonging to the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, and because it stands close within the south-west angle of the Walls. The situation is pleasant and commanding, being on the highest ground of the old town; from which circumstance, the Parsonage-house, which stands very near



Painted by J. H. Barker

Painted by J. H. Barker

# **ST. MARY'S CHURCH,**

*With part of the Ancient Wall.*

**COLL' HESSTER.**

Publ Decr 20, 1891, for the Proprietors P. Youngman & J. Grogg  
By Messrs. Smith, Ware & Walker, Lithographers.





the edifice on its north side, affords a fine view of the surrounding country. The Rev. Philip Morant, the learned historian of Colchester and of Essex, was Rector of this parish; and we have his own authority for the fact of his having himself rebuilt the west end of the Parsonage. He farther presumes, that this house was "beat down, or at least very much damaged, during the *Siege*."—The present Rector is the Rev. Philip Bayles, A. M.

The old Church itself was nearly demolished at the calamitous period just mentioned, having been assailed by the Parliamentarians' "biggest pieces of battery, being two demi-cannons, and two whole culverines, upon St. John's Green." A previous fire had been opened upon it, but with comparatively little injury. The reason for which determined hostility to St. Mary's is thus given by Morant. "Their (the Royalists') batteries from St. Maries-Fort and Steeple, and from the N. Bridge, greatly annoyed the enemy. Particularly, a one-eyed gunner was placed in St. Mary's steeple; whose memory is still celebrated for having singled out and killed many of the Parliamentarians. Here a platform was made in the frame in the bells, and a brass saker planted, which, flanking their trench, did them much injury: besides, a sentinel was kept in that place, which discovered their motions night and day." A battery raised upon the curtain, defeated the Besiegers' revenge for this annoyance in the first instance; but, on their opening upon the steeple from St. John's Green, they "beat down one side of it in a short time, with a great part of the church, breaking the saker that was planted there;" and "the gunner, and one of the matrosses, were killed."

From the Siege until the year 1713, the edifice remained in ruins; but at length, in the year mentioned,

at the instance of the Rev. Robert Middleton, then Rector, and through the encouragement to the design given by Sir Isaac Rebow, Knt. and other principal inhabitants, it was determined to commence the repairs. But reparation not being found easily practicable, the church was rebuilt as it now stands; the expence, amounting to about £1600, being defrayed by brief, aided by a rate and benefactions. The steeple was restored, rather than rebuilt; and in 1729, 12 feet of brick work were added at top, at the cost of more than £234. The structure is plain and neat; the interior, certainly, somewhat too bald of decoration: but we are not confident that the steeple, however devoid of architectural ornaments, quite deserves the character given it by Morant, of being "both heavy and as ugly as possible."

The building consists of a nave, and two side aisles, whose length is 70 feet, exclusive of the break of the chancel, which is 10 feet by 15: the east and west ends are each 50 feet wide on the outside. The foundations are five feet deep; and the height of the walls 18 feet. There are nine regular windows, besides small circular ones in the roof. The organ in the gallery at the west end, is disproportionately small. A monumental figure, at the east end of the north aisle, representing "John Rebow, of Colchester, Merchant," cannot be remarked for excellence of execution; and the marble, from its abundant veining, gives it a singular and somewhat ghastly appearance. It was erected by Sir Isaac Rebow, Knt. to the memory of his father. The handsome gravelled walls, shaded with lime trees, and the generally neat appearance, of the church-yard, deserve notice and commendation.

The family of Rebow, just mentioned, was originally

from the Low Countries: on settling at Colchester, they entered into the bay trade, and became opulent merchants. Sir Isaac was knighted by King William, who was at the time a guest in his house. This was in March, 1693; and he had the honour of entertaining the same monarch in the month of October following, as well as in the year 1700. The knight was one of the representatives of the borough in all the parliaments of William; in the four first of those of Anne; and in the first of George I. He was also High Steward and Recorder. His name will long be preserved in Colchester, by the lane called from him *Sir Isaac Rebow's Walk*, which Morant records his having "gravell'd and made handsome." The present representative of the family is Major-General Rebow, of Wivenhoe Park.

Sir Harbottle Grimston, Baronet, who was one of the members for Colchester in the stirring times of 1639-40, and who spoke vehemently against the grievances then so justly complained of, was also a resident in this parish.

"In the beginning of the Long Parliament," says Bishop Burnet, "he was a great assertor of the laws, and inveighed severely against all that had been concerned in the former illegal oppression. His principle was, that allegiance and protection were mutual obligations, and that the one went for the other: he thought that the law was the measure of both: and that when a legal protection was denied to one that paid a legal allegiance, the subject had a right to defend himself." Sir Harbottle had been educated in the Inns of Court, and was famed both for his knowledge of the common law, and of the customs and usages of Parliament: he was one of the first to contest the presumed legality of ship-money. But he afterwards took a natural disgust

at the ambition and violence of the Parliamentary leaders, and strenuously exerted himself to procure Charles's restoration to the sovereign authority. Unfortunately, he attached himself to that party in the House, which never sincerely desired an accommodation with the King, until it saw itself compelled to choose between the renewed ascendancy of Charles, and the rapidly maturing ascendancy of its own particular enemies. The Independents, with Cromwell at their head, had by that time fully convinced themselves, that no terms to which the King should subscribe, would be observed by him when power was once more in his hands; and Sir Harbottle was become peculiarly obnoxious to them, both from his warmth in asserting a contrary opinion, and from his having been one of the commissioners appointed to treat with Charles in the Isle of Wight. He was in consequence, with other members, excluded the House; an exclusion to which, though Cromwell did not appear in it, there are grounds for believing that his concurrence was not wanting. But the cautious historian may be well pardoned for neglecting the repetition of a charge, said to have been brought against Cromwell by Sir Harbottle at a prior period; namely, that the ever wary politician who was to sit the virtual throne of his sovereign, had used expressions relative to the House of Commons, without its walls, which no man of common prudence could have allowed himself to indulge in. The story is retailed by Burnet, and is of a piece with many other of his gossiping relations: had the events narrated by the Bishop—that Sir Harbottle brought this charge in Parliament against Cromwell, and that the latter, with hypocritical protestations and tears, denied it—actually taken place, the Bishop alone would not have possessed



information of the facts; there were very many who wrote vehemently against the Protector after the Restoration, who must have known of, and would have been most happy to have recorded them. Having suffered temporarily in his personal liberty from the Independent, or more properly Republican party, which latter had at last grown to a very large body of the nation; and having had his house here much burnt and otherwise damaged during the Siege; Sir Harbottle quitted his post of Recorder of the town, and for some time lived abroad. He promoted the restoration of Charles II., and was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons in 1660;\* in the same year constituted Master of the Rolls; and continued to fill the latter office with talent and integrity, and to represent the borough, until his death, in his 82nd year, in 1683.

\* The expelled members at this period resumed their seats; and on the eve of that event, the Baronet received the following letter from the Corporation of Colchester:—

“HONOURABLE SIR;

“As we cannot but with thankfulness acknowledge the mercy of God to the nation in general, so more particularly to this town, that, after the many changes and alterations we have been tossed in, that there now is (as we have been credibly informed, and do believe) a free admission of the Members of the late Parliament, so long interrupted by force: we cannot but with much earnestness, in the behalf of ourselves, and the free burgesses of the town, make our humble request, that you will return to that trust, to which you were so freely and unanimously elected in the year 1640; which we do the rather request out of the former experience, that not only this town, but the nation in general, hath had of your faithfulness and ability, and the many miseries and calamities we have groaned under since your absence: and as we formerly had the honour of sending so eminent and worthy a member, so we shall hope, by the blessing of God upon your endeavours, that not only ourselves, but the whole nation, shall have cause to bless God for your return, and in due time reap the benefit of your councils and labour in that great

The Grimstons of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Hertfordshire, all descend from Sylvester, afterwards surnamed De Grimston, a valiant Norman, who accompanied the Conqueror to England, and bore his standard at the battle of Hastings. He was appointed Chamberlain to William in the following year: but his family does not appear to have been much engaged in state affairs until the reign of Henry the Seventh. In that of Edward the Sixth, Edward Grimston Esq. was made Comptroller of Calais; and was continued in the same office by Queen Mary. On the taking of Calais by the Duke of Guise, in the year 1558, he was made prisoner, and confined in the Bastile; but at length, after two years incarceration in that detestable fortress, he escaped by stratagem to his native country, and was honourably acquitted of any misconduct connected with the loss of the last possession of the English in France. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth; represented the borough of Ipswich in several parliaments; lived to the great age of ninety-eight; and was succeeded by his eldest son, Edward; whose grandson, the second Sir Harbottle Grimston, was the person so actively engaged in the calamitous times of Charles I. His father, Sir Harbottle Grimston, of Bradfield, Essex, with steady fortitude suffered a long imprisonment in the same reign, for refusing to pay his assigned quota of a *loan* attempted to be enforced upon his subjects by the rash minions of the ill-fated Charles. The present Earl of Verulam, Viscount Grimston, descends from the eldest

affliction. Sir, we shall not further trouble you at present, than to assure you we are, as by many former favours bound to be, your faithful and humble servants,

"THOMAS PEEKE, *Mayor*.

"JOHN SHAW, *Recorder*, &c. &c.

daughter of Sir Harbottle of Colchester; (her grandson having assumed the name of Grimston :) and the manor of Gorhambury, Herts, at which is his Lordship's noble seat, was the purchase of the same Baronet from the family of Meautys.

The house in which Sir Harbottle Grimston resided, had been originally a Convent for Crossed, or, according to the old English word, *Crouched Friars*, of the order of St. Augustin, as well as an hospital for the reception of poor people, and was governed by a Prior. By whom it was instituted, is not certainly known: the industrious Morant could only collect grounds for believing the founder to have been William de Lanvallei, Lord of the Manor of Stanway, and that the building must take date before the year 1244. This church and hospital acquired a great accession of strength and riches in 1407, by becoming the seat of the *Guild of St. Helen*, as well as of the chantries that were afterwards incorporated with the same Guild. The word *guild*, from the Saxon, signified a society or corporation, of men or women, or both, united for some religious or other design, and contributing mutually for their support as such; this of St. Helen, it appears, enumerated amongst its members during the fifteenth century, the Countess of Hertford, Sir John Howard, Knt., Sir Gerard Braybroke, Knt., Lady Brockhole, the Abbot of St. John's, John, Lord Berners, &c. But the Crouched Friars seem to have been dispossessed upon the entry of the Guild, and until the commencement of the reign of Henry VII.; when an active person named Roger Church, by producing Papal bulls, and other evidences, from which it appeared that the house was originally for Friars of that order, and through the interest of John Earl of Oxford and others, procured their reinstatement, Roger himself then be-

coming Prior. At the dissolution, the entire possessions and revenues of this convent were valued only at £7 7s. 8d.; for which sum they were granted to Sir Thomas Audeley, Lord Audeley of Walden, then Chancellor. The chapel had been demolished many years, when the house became the residence of Sir Harbottle Grimston: it had been previously the seat of the Stephens', a family at that time of some consequence in Colchester. As it was never fit for a gentleman's mansion subsequently to the Siege, it was hired by the Workhouse Corporation about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and became the general workhouse for the town; was afterwards let out in tenements to poor people; and finally pulled down, for the reason that the rents it thus afforded were scarcely worth the owner's trouble in collecting. It stood on the south side of the London road.

The Population Return of St. Mary's parish in 1821, was as follows:—houses, 222; males, 501; females, 646; total population, 1147.

## 2.—ST. PETER'S.

This parish adjoins St. Mary's on the north and east, and includes that interesting feature for the antiquary, the Balkon Hill, together with the lower Balkon Lane.

The *Church*, (which, as already stated, existed before the Conquest,) is considered the principal one in the town; being that in which the episcopal and archidiaconal visitations are held, and at which the Corporation generally attend once a fortnight, in their robes, and with their official ensign, the mace. It was nearly thrown down by an earthquake in 1692; the particulars of which occurrence are recorded in the parish-register, under the hand of the Rev. Robert Dickman,



**ST PETERS CHURCH.**  
*and North Hill.*  
**COLCHESTER.**

Pubd Decr 30 1851 for the Proprietors P. Youngman & J. Goring  
 by Messrs. Swaine & Nason Colchester





then Vicar.\*—The present *Vicar* is the Rev. William Marsh, A. M.

The edifice consists of a nave, side aisles, and chancel. The south aisle was enlarged about seven years since, when the whole was repaired and beautified. The walls are coated on the exterior with composition, and turretted with white brick: the tower, the entrance to which is from North Hill, is of red brick, relieved by white quoins. The general appearance within is handsome, and altogether much improved from that it wore when Morant spoke of its *organ* as "the only one in the town." A large and well-executed altar-piece decorates the east end: it was painted by John James Halls, Esq. (of Great Marlborough Street, London,) son of James Halls, Esq., of St. Mary's parish. The subject is, Christ raising Jairus's Daughter.

This church contains several memorials dated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the most ancient of which records, in old English characters, on a brass plate against the wall of the south aisle, the deaths of

\* The entry is to the effect, that "on Thursday, September 8, 1692, there happened, about two of the clock in the afternoon, for the space of a minute or more, an universal Earthquake all over England, France, Holland, and some parts of Germany. And particularly it was attested to me by the Masons that were then a plaistering the Steple of St. Peter's in this Town, and upon the uppermost scaffold, that the Steple parted so wide in the midst that they could have put their hand into the crack or cleft, and immediately shut up close again, without any damage to the workmen, (who expected all would have fallen down,) or to the Steple itself. Most of the houses here and elsewhere shook, and part of a chimney fell down on North-hill; and very many who were sensible of it were taken at the same time with a giddyness in their heads for some short time. In witness of what is here related, I have hereto set my hand,

Robert Dickman, Minister of St. Pet. Colchester."

"John Sayer, sometyme Alderman of this Towne of Colchester, and of Elizabeth his wyfe," in the years, respectively, of 1510 and 1530. Another, in the north aisle of the chancel, which Morant calls "a beautiful monument," and to which he devotes a copper-plate, is more curious than deserving of the learned historian's commendation; it is to the memory of "the worshipfull George Sayer, the elder," who died in 1577, and gives the effigies of five male figures, and as many females, kneeling on the opposite sides of a kind of altar-table or desk, beneath a pediment supported by Corinthian columns, and bearing the arms of Sayer at top. The lovers of antique monumental inscriptions may be gratified by a copy of the long poetical one upon this tomb: we accordingly transcribe it, as the most remarkable of its kind perhaps in Colchester, and because we purpose in general to omit such matter as tedious.

O happie heared heares that here in grave doth lye,  
 Whose body resteth nowe in earth, his ghost with Christ on hie.  
 His youthfull race he ran with travayle and with troth,  
 His myddle and his aged years with wealth and worship both.  
 Full thyrtye years or more cheefe rule or place he bare  
 In this his native amncient Towne, whereof he had great care.  
 With Justice he did rule, and eke with mercy mylde,  
 With love he lyved many years of man woman and chyld.  
 A Monument he made for ever to remain  
 For ayde to poor and aged wights, which are oppress'd with payne.  
 Posteritie he had to his great joye of mind,  
 His place and portion to possesse, which he hath left behynde.  
 O happie Sayer, not for theis thinges alone, [one:  
 Which were but mundane, vayne, and vyle, and fade, and fayle eche  
 But happier thousande-folde to lyve and love those dayes  
 Wherein Goddes gospell brightlye shynes to his eternall prayse.  
 Thy off desired wyshe thou doubtless didest obtayne,  
 With Symeon to departe in peace, and lyfe by death to gayne.  
 Thy ofspringe may rejoyce for this thy happye ende:  
 Thy freinda and tennaunts all are gladd that God such grace did send.



And we, that yet remaine within this vale of tears,  
 By thine example maye be taught for to contemne all feares,  
 And always for to praye that God our stepps so gvyde  
 That we lykewise may hence depart in endlesse blisse to hyde.

There are some inscriptions besides to members of the same family, as well as to that of Brown; both of which appear to have been eminent for wealth or municipal consequence in Colchester. There is also, on the north side of the chancel, a monument of black and white marble, inscribed, in gold letters, to "Martin Basill, sometime Alderman of this Towne, whoe departed this lyfe the 23 of March 1623, and Elizabeth his wyfe, whoe deceased the 30 of October 1625." Their effigies appear kneeling, a desk between them: below, in bass-relief, are their six sons and seven daughters, also kneeling. Other memorials, on brasses, occur, of the date of the sixteenth century; and the more customary sepulchral epitaphs are too numerous to mention.

South of St. Peter's Church, and in a position to conceal the greater part of that edifice from the High Street, stood an ancient building, called the *Red Row*, and afterwards known as the *Exchange*, which, while the bay trade flourished, was daily frequented by numbers of substantial merchants: it contained also, in the upper story, the Dutch Bay-hall. In place of this building, the *New Exchange* now presents a handsome front of stone and composition, to the High Street, having been completed about five years. It was erected by private subscription of the Corn-merchants and Farmers, who have succeeded to the importance possessed by the Bay-merchants of former days; the design was given by Mr. David Laing, of London, the architect of the Custom-House which adds so noble an ornament to the metropolis: the builder was Mr. Hayward, of Colchester.

The basement story, which is an open colonnade, consisting of a double row of cast-iron fluted pillars, forms the Corn-Market. The façade above is balustraded at top, and has a pediment in the centre, with a clock. The upper rooms are occupied as the Essex Equitable Fire and Life Insurance Office.

Near the Exchange, in the High Street, the site is marked in old plans of a pump, called *King Coel's Pump*, which was kept in repair by the inhabitants in its immediate vicinity. It is mentioned by Morant; who observes, that "there is no proof of the well's being of so ancient a date as King Coel." The necessity for this, and nearly all such public pumps, in Colchester, has ceased to exist since the establishment of the Water-works: and that dignified by the name of Coel, was removed, and the well covered in, a few years since, under the authority of the New Paving-Act.

The parish of St. Peter extending to the foot of *North Bridge*, one of the three which cross the Colne at this town, we take this opportunity of briefly noticing it. It is of common red brick, and has three arches, which, though the structure has scarcely stood 40 years, bear visible marks of decay: the centre arch, in particular, has partly given way, and it was found necessary very lately to repair it. It was built by the late Sir William Staines, who died an Alderman of London.

The Population Return of this parish in 1821, gave the number of its houses, 293; male inhabitants, 757; females, 890; total population, 1647.

### 3.—THE PARISH OF ST. RUNWALD

lies eastward of St. Peter's, and unites with it in the High Street. It takes name from its church, dedicated





to St. Runwald.\* It is the smallest parochial division of Colchester, St. Mary Magdalen's excepted; but lying in the heart of the town, is the best situated of any for trade and business.—Present *Rector*, the Rev. James Round, A. M.

In this parish, on the north side of the High Street, stands the *Moot* or *Mote-Hall*, the Court of Judicature of the Borough, and deriving its name from the Saxon *mot-heal*, a council-house, or place of assembly. Here the courts are held, and all the public affairs of the town transacted. The court-days are Monday and Thursday in each week, the Mayor, Recorder, &c. presiding; and the Sessions are held four times a year. The edifice contains, the Moot-Hall itself; the Freemens' Chamber, in which entertainments are made on Michaelmas-day, (when the new Mayor is sworn in,) and meetings are held upon particular occasions; a room called the Council-Room, to which the Aldermen retire for the election of the Mayor, (from the two members of their body who

\* "As this Saxon Saint is not much known, it will be proper to give some account of him; and we have none but a legendary one. He is said to have been son to a king of Northumberland, by a christian daughter of *Penda* king of Mercia. Being born at King's-Sutton in Buckinghamshire, as soon as he came out of his mother's womb, he cried three times, I am a Christian. Then making a plain confession of his faith, he desired to be baptized, chose his godfathers, and his own name Runwald. He also directed, with his fingers, the standers-by to fetch him a great hollow stone for a font, which several of his father's servants tried in vain to bring, as much above their strength; till the two priests, his designed god-fathers, did go and fetch it easily. Being baptized, he discoursed for three days of all the common-places of popery, and having confirmed the truth of them (as the Legend pretends) he bequeathed his body to remain at Sutton one year, at Brackley two, and at Buckingham ever after. This done, he expired, and was buried in the place of his appointment; but he was chiefly honoured at Boxley in Kent."—*Morant*.

have been first nominated by the free burgesses;) and sundry apartments, partly under and partly adjoining the hall, devoted to the confinement of debtors and malefactors. Behind all is an empty and decaying structure, once the Theatre of Colchester, and to which the entrance was through the Moot-Hall from the High Street: but the present Theatre is in Queen Street.

No building of a public nature is more wanting in Colchester, whether as regards exterior appearance or internal convenience, than a new Moot-hall and Gaol. The aspect of the existing edifice is not only insignificant, and even mean, but the accommodations within, for every official purpose, poor, and unworthy of the ancient borough. Surely, the public spirit which prompted to the erection of so handsome an Exchange, (or more properly Corn-Market,) should, for its own honour's sake, aspire to raise a building, more suited to that most solemn of municipal purposes, the dispensation of public justice.

But if the present Moot-hall fails to attract the eye accustomed to expect elegance, or at least propriety of appearance, in public edifices, it has features that will repay the attention of the curious antiquary. For, parts of this despised fabric were built, there is some reason to believe, by Eudo Dapifer! Certain passages of massy arch-work remain in the basement of the building, whose style and strength appear equally to give weight to the tradition, which assigns the founding of the Moot-hall to the powerful and wealthy Norman. And until Morant's time, not only these remains, but the very residence of Eudo, it is confidently believed, existed in Colchester.

Nearly opposite the Moot-hall, and on the spot now occupied by the houses of Mr. Forster, grocer, and his



ANCIENT WINDOW SILL AND DATE.  
*and the Mayor's Seal of Office*  
 COLCHESTER.



Drawn & Engr. by John Greig



Pubd Decr 20 1874 for the Proprietors P. Thompson & J. Greig  
 by Messrs. Symonds & Walter Colchester





adjoining neighbour, stood an ancient fabric, whose front was of timber, and, to all appearance, not more than between two and three hundred years old at the time of its demolition. But the rear of this edifice was of Roman brick, mixed with stone, and had "several arched passages in and about it, built in a very strong and elegant manner, which shewed not only signs of antiquity, but of grandeur."\* And, according to established tradition, this house was both the abode of, and built by, Eudo Dapifer, towards the end of the eleventh century.

A curious *morceau* for the antiquary, the only vestige of the ancient mansion, yet remains upon the spot. When, about sixteen or seventeen years before Morant wrote, the old house was wholly taken down and rebuilt by the then owner, a certain oak sill of a window, bearing a much disputed DATE, was removed from the timber front, and placed, as the sill of another window, in rear of the new building; where, from an inclosed yard, it may still be seen. Of this date, with the carved sill of which it is part, we present an engraving; leaving the reader, in the first instance, to his own opinions respecting it.

The first public notice taken of this date, was by the Rev. Thomas Lufkin, in the Philosophical Transactions for August, 1699. His intention was to confirm the opinion of the learned Dr. John Wallis, that *numeral figures* were used in Europe long before the middle of the thirteenth, or beginning of the fourteenth century—the time fixed by Father Mabillon, and Vossius, for their introduction. An unknown writer to the Editor of the Bibliotheca Literaria, (published in London in 1722) next took the subject into consideration, or

\* Morant.

rather settled it, in his own opinion, at once; for he flatly asserted the date to be a forgery: while Dr. Samuel Jebb, the learned Editor himself, though he animadverted upon his correspondent's warmth in venturing so grave a charge, was in the main disposed to support his argument. Mr. John Ward, in the *Philosophical Transactions* for October, &c. 1735, followed on the same side: and the Historian of Colchester and Essex did not incline to believe in the supposed antiquity of the date, for reasons which in substance were as follow.—1. The figures are of that form which is called the Black Letter, or English character. But no such form of letters, much less of figures, was in use in the eleventh century, as is plain from MSS. and records, not to mention Domesday-book, in which the characters universally are more round and Roman-like. Besides, the great-seals in Stebbing and Speed, with other evidences, make it sufficiently apparent, that the English character did not come into fashion until the thirteenth century.—2. The Date is on an *escutcheon*;<sup>\*</sup> and escutcheons, and coats of armour, were not used till the twelfth century at soonest, as is shewn in Dugdale, and other authorities.—3. The first 0 of the Date is not *perfect* at bottom, part of it being decayed, or having been accidentally knocked off: so that this figure *might*, as is roundly asserted by the anonymous author of the article in the *Bibliotheca Literaria*, have been a 4, in the manner it was at first made, with crossed legs at the bottom, or thus—8—when the Date would have been 1490: an idea considered to be farther supported by the

\* There are three other window sills visible from the enclosed yard, whose style is similar to that of the one under consideration: two of these also are decorated with *escutcheons*, bearing the arms of Colchester.

circumstance, that the first **Q** is wider than the second, and must have been bigger in proportion.—Upon the whole, our historian is of opinion, that the Date was either set down by the carpenter from tradition, when the house was new-fronted with timber in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, or copied from some ancients Date, in Roman numerals, which stood upon the old *Stone-house*, as it was called in writings possessed by him. He does not decidedly say if he thinks the figures, whether original or copied, to be 1090 or 1490; but merely observes that “this date” (by which he must mean the oldest) “very well tallies with the time wherein Eudo Dapifer lived in this place.”

Let us now be permitted a few remarks. The whole question plainly hinges upon the degree of mutilation sustained by the second figure. And, in the first place, we could not, upon a minute inspection of this curious remain, feel convinced that the circumstance of the first **Q**'s being “wider than the second, and bigger in proportion,” at all supports the idea that this figure was intended for a 4 of the ancient make with crossed legs; the reason of this disparity appearing simply to be, that the workman, (a *carpenter* very probably, of whatever century,) having occupied too much of the escutcheon with the two first figures, was obliged in an equal degree to crowd the two others, and more particularly to render the width of the last quite unequal to that of those preceding it. Besides, the roughness that may be both seen and felt upon the escutcheon's surface, where the mutilation of the disputed figure has taken place, does not extend farther than would be necessary for the completion of an **Q**; there being no traces of such roughness on those parts of the surface, where the crossed legs of the 4, if

they had existed, must have been situated. We infer, from these considerations, united with reflection upon the several arguments that have been offered on the subject, that the Date is 1090, but not the workmanship of the era to which it points. We mean, that it was, in all probability, intended by the restorer of the mansion in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, merely to preserve the memory of the period at which the building was *originally* erected, as connected with Eudo Dapifer, its founder; and *not* intended to convey to future ages, that it was *itself* as old as the eleventh century. We stop not to press the several improbabilities, that the "old *Stone-house*" of Eudo, constructed at a period when strength and durability were so much consulted in building, should be furnished with *wooden* window sills; that the timber front of the mansion, (not removed so much as a century,) of which this sill forms a part, should have stood more than six hundred years;\*—or that the sill and carving themselves, after a constant exposure to the atmosphere nearly from the Conquest to the present period, should even yet be so nearly perfect:—we hasten from the consideration of a topic, which many readers may think has been too long dwelt upon, to the remaining subjects for description in the parish of St. Runwald.

A "public building," which appears to have been formerly called the *Wool-Hall*, is spoken of by prior writers as standing in this parish, having been erected about the year 1590; of which the upper part was a

\* Timber-fronts to houses, of the style in which this in question was most probably executed, were very prevalent in the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth, common in the fifteenth, and might have been introduced even in the fourteenth century: if they existed earlier, no authenticated vestiges have lasted long enough to prove it.

warehouse for wool and wool-yarn, and the lower subsequently used for a fruit, butter, poultry, and leather-market. It was fitted up as a *Guard-House* some years since, at a time when the Garrison of Colchester was particularly full; but the whole had disappeared before the present Market-place was erected.

This *Market-Place*, situated close to the Moot-hall, on the north side of the High Street, was formerly the garden of the Three Cups Inn, which it adjoins, and beneath a part of which is its neat front of free-stone and stucco. The entrance is by a handsome vestibule, supported by Tuscan pillars. The interior, which is adapted to the sale of flesh, butter, poultry, fruit, &c., is rather small, but conveniently disposed. In the centre is a stone Conduit, supplied with water from a reservoir filled by the town water-works. It bears an urn at top: in front are the arms of Colchester; and, behind, the following inscription:

THIS MARKET PLACE,  
BUILT BY PRIVATE  
SUBSCRIPTION, WAS OPEN'D  
FOR THE ACCOMMODATION  
OF THE PUBLIC, ON THE  
27TH DAY OF MARCH, 1813.

It is to be lamented, that an erection, which cost nearly £10,000., supplied from the voluntary contributions of some spirited individuals, has been hitherto so scantily occupied, that it has not returned the slightest interest to the proprietors, for the money they so liberally bestowed upon it.—The flesh-market, it may be here observed, was formerly held in the High Street, as is the cattle-market to this day. The latter was restored to this situation, upon petition to the Mayor, &c., after having been temporarily removed to a more open, and,

as it might be judged, more suitable spot, west of the town. The principal market-day, being that for corn and cattle, is Saturday; but there is also a market for poultry, and fruit, on Wednesdays; and every day the Market-Place is in a degree frequented by sales-people and purchasers.

A fragment of a *Roman Tessellated Pavement* was discovered upwards of 60 years since, in a spot now included in the Market-place, but which was then part of the garden of Mr. Wallis, a tradesman, whose house fronted the High Street, and is now that part of the Three Cups Inn which is over the entrance to the market. It remains where it was found, at the depth of a few feet from the surface of the earth; being partly bricked over, and partly covered by a trap-door, the key of which is entrusted with the person whose office it is to cleanse the market. The largest pieces of the Mosaic work, are something more than an inch square; the smallest, about a quarter of an inch. They are not remarkable either for variety or richness of colours: indeed, the whole fragment, from neglect, and the admission of the rain, is going rapidly to decay.

The *Church* of St. Runwald, is a small mean building; which was repaired, as an inscription within informs the visitant, in 1760, at the expence of the parishioners, after lying ruinous more than 100 years. It stands in an unsightly and inconvenient manner, in the carriage-way of the High Street; which, but for the obstruction presented by this edifice, so unworthy of its conspicuous site, and a sort of middle-row of shops and houses nearly adjoining it, would be as handsome a street as is to be met with in any town in England. Several houses which formed part of this middle-row, were taken down some years since under the operation of the New

Paving-Act; and it is certainly desirable that the others should share their fate.

The Population Return of St. Runwald's gave the houses at 82: male inhabitants, 205; females, 221; total population, 426.

#### 4.—ST. MARTIN'S.

The boundaries of this parish are, on the south, St. Runwald's; on the west, St. Peter's; on the north, the Town Wall; and on the east, the parish of St. Nicholas. The population Return gave the houses at 164; male inhabitants, 390; females, 453; total population, 843. The *Rector* of St. Martin's, is the Rev. Yorick Smythies, A. M.

St. Martin's *Church* stands between East and West Stockwell Streets, (formerly Bear and Angel Lanes,) the church-yard extending to both. It consists of a nave, two aisles, and chancel; with a tower at the west end. The tower is not higher than the body of the edifice, having received much damage in the Siege; and the only reparation since afforded it, has been that of covering it in. It appears to have been entirely faced with Roman bricks; and their deep red colour now picturesquely contrasts with the dark green of the ivy that envelopes it.

#### 5.—HOLY TRINITY.

The parish thus designated from its church, is bounded on the north by parts of the parishes of St. Nicholas, St. Runwald, and St. Peter; south, by St. Giles's; east, by parts of the last mentioned parish, and of St. Botolph's; and west, by St. Mary's.—Its houses were estimated at

111; male inhabitants, 232; females, 289; total population, 521; in the Census of 1821.—The *Rector* of Holy Trinity parish, is the Rev. T. Tanner.

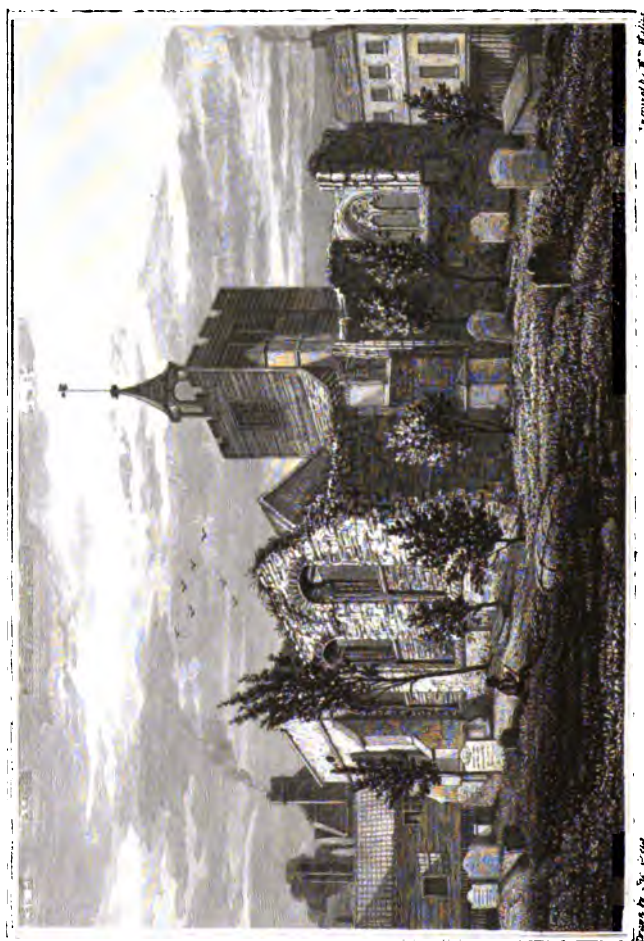
The *Church*, the only object claiming description, consists of a body, south aisle, chancel, and tower; the whole externally covered with a coating of rough mortar. Within, we notice a mural monument to William Gilbert, M.D. of whom a brief account may be acceptable. The parish of Holy Trinity gave birth to, and was the residence of, this "most learned and great man," as he is styled by Morant. He was born in 1540, and studied in both our English Universities; but was honoured with his degree abroad, having travelled for some time in foreign countries. On his return, being now famed for his attainments in learning and philosophy, he became a member of the Royal College of Physicians, London, and chief physician to Queen Elizabeth, who, as a rare mark of her high esteem, allowed him a pension to encourage him in the prosecution of his studies. He was also chief physician to James I. In 1600, he published his celebrated book, *De Magnētā, magneticisque corporibus*: besides which, he was inventor of two highly ingenious and useful instruments, for finding the latitude at sea. He died in 1603; bequeathing his library, globes, instruments, and cabinet of minerals, to the College of Physicians. His picture is preserved in the Schools-gallery at Oxford.

#### 6.—ST. NICHOLAS.

This parish adjoins those of Holy Trinity, and St. Runwald's, on the west; St. Botolph's, on the south; All Saints', on the east; and part of the latter, with St. Martin's, on the north.—*Rector*, the Rev. P. Wright, A.M.







**ST NICHOLAS CHURCH.  
COLCHESTER.**

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The *Church* stands on the south side of the High Street, nearly in the centre of the town. From the tower projects the dial of a clock, which occasions St. Nicholas's to be frequently called the *Dial-Church*. This is not the original tower: for that, having grown ruinous about 50 years before Morant wrote, fell upon the body and chancel of the edifice, and destroyed the roofing of both. A workman from London had been employed to repair the structure; and, fortunately for him, the accident occurred while he was absent at dinner. The west end was restored and new-pewed in 1721; but the east end and chancel remain utterly dilapidated. The materials of Roman edifices of an unknown date, return to ruin commingled with the remains of Gothic architecture; presenting a spectacle, which, with appropriate accompaniments, the artist might deem picturesque: but, surrounded as is this still decaying fragment with neat and well-built streets, and lines of good modern houses, the impression produced by the whole, to speak of it as matter of taste alone, may, to many, it is possible, prove unpleasing.

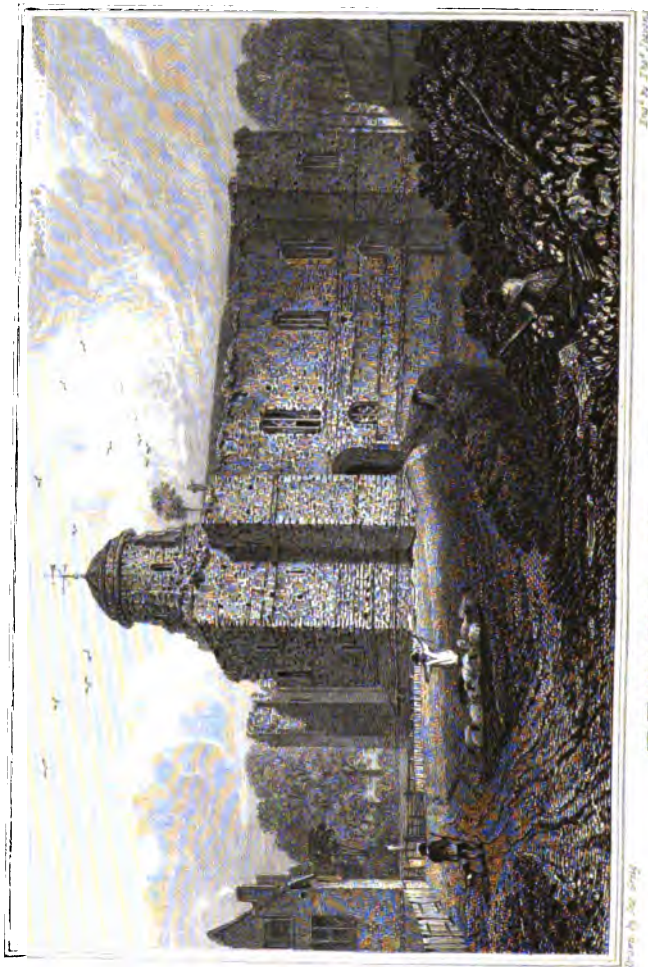
In the roofless chancel are two monuments: one of which, for "Richard Harris, D. D. who died in 1621," bears an epitaph "so nonsensical," (says Morant) "that it ought to be buried in oblivion." We feel no inclination to bring the opinion of the learned Historian to the test of the reader's judgment: and shall but imitate his example in copying the epitaph on the other monument, inscribed to John Langley, Gent. and his first and second wife. Date, 1625.

God's love and favour is not knowne alwayes  
By earthly Comforts, or by length of Dayes;  
For oftentymes we see, whom he loves best  
He takes the sooner to his place of rest.

Long life on earth doth but prolong our paine,  
In happie Death there is the greatest gaine.  
These wives and children heere can witnesse this,  
In whom none livse, kneue any thing amisse.  
Marie had Marie, Jefferie, Anna, and John.  
Jeane had for children Susan all alone.

*St. Helen's Chapel*, in St. Helen's (vulgarly Tenant's) Lane, is a foundation of great antiquity; deriving origin, it is said, from St. Helen, mother of the Emperor Constantine. It was re-built about the year 1076, by Eudo Dapifer; who gave it to his monastery of St. John, the Abbot of which covenanted to find a chaplain to officiate every alternate day of the week within its walls. But this service being found wholly neglected by the time of Edward I., and the chapel in a ruinous condition, John de Colchester, to prevent its application to profane uses, founded in it a chantry. Upon the suppression of the chantries, it came, with the revenues, by grant of Henry VIII., into the hands of the Bailiffs and Commonalty; who, selling it, instead of *founding a free school* from its annual proceeds, (the purpose for which it was granted,) it became the property of various persons; till at length a congregation of the people called Quakers were its purchasers: and it was from that period the meeting-house of this congregation, until they obtained a more suitable place of worship in East Stockwell Street. Remaining still the property of this religious society, it was subsequently the Colchester Library; and is now rented by the Lancasterian School in More Lane, as a Sunday School for boys. Nothing in the appearance of the building, is calculated to impress the idea of its very considerable antiquity; and it seems probable that the frequent repairs it must have undergone, have left little that is really antique upon the old foundation.





# REMAINS OF THE CASTLE. COLCHESTER.

Pubd Decr 20, 1874 for the Proprietors P. Youngman & J. Glegg  
by Messrs. Swainson & Walker, Colchester

UNIK  
OF  
CHICAGO

Agreeably to the return of 1821, the houses in this parish were 205; male inhabitants, 439; females, 541; total population, 980.

#### 7.—ALL SAINTS, OR ALL-HALLOWES.

The boundaries of the parish of All-Saints are, on the west, St. Nicholas's; on the south, St. Botolph's; on the east, St. James's, and part of St. Botolph's; and on the north, Mile-End.—The *Rector* of All-Saints, (which is consolidated with St. Botolph's,) is the Rev. Richard Hoblyn, A. M.

The most remarkable object contained within the limits of this parish, is

#### THE CASTLE.

This highly interesting pile is situated a little in rear of the north side of the High Street; so that it might escape the notice of the passenger, through the intervention of more modern buildings. The general form of the structure strikes the spectator, immediately on approaching it by the retired green close, or *bailey*, in which it stands: it is a square, flanked at the angles by strong, and once lofty towers: the entire circumference, all projections included, being about 224 yards, and the contents of the ground it occupies, half an acre, 12½ rods. The four sides lie nearly to the four cardinal points of the compass: their thickness is 12 feet in the basement, and 11 in the upper story. The gate, on the south side, faces the usual approach: it has the semi-circular, or Norman arch—so frequently *mis*called the Saxon—ornamented with the mouldings peculiar to that style, but much less richly so than the fine gate of

**St. Botolph's Priory.** With the exception of a small sally-port to the north, this, originally, was the single entrance to the building; for the three others, on the north and east sides, have been cut, with immense labour, through the solid walls. The material for the whole edifice is Roman brick, mingled with stone: but it is observable, that nearly all the brick is in broken pieces; as if taken, which was undoubtedly the case, from the ruins of more ancient structures, the work of Roman hands, that once decorated the streets of Camulodunum. Much of the stone, it is farther deserving of remark, is of the description commonly called *Purbeck*; which, as it is not produced by this part of the country, was also very probably conveyed hither, and used in building, by the Roman conquerors. The Castle suffered extremely, not much more than a century since, from an ill-judged attempt made by a certain John Wheely, who, purchasing it, for 110£., from the then owner, Robert Northfolk, Esq., with the intent and upon condition of demolishing it entirely, removed and sold many of the bricks, together with the greater part of the free-stone which composed the quoins and much of the interior arches of the building. A fine well was at the same time destroyed; and the summits of the towers and walls either forced to the ground by the mechanical powers of the screw, or blown up with gunpowder. But, after the waste of much time and exertion, the cement of the walls plainly appearing of such strength and solidity, that the sale of the materials was not likely to repay the expence of the projected demolition, the undertaking was abandoned; and the remains are now very carefully preserved by Mrs. James Round, the present occupant of the grounds under the proprietor, Charles Round, Esq. of Birch Hall.



Entering the Castle by the principal gate described,\* the grand stair-case is immediately on the left, in the south-west tower. On the right, is a large over-ground arched vault; on a part of the exterior stone-work of which, just within the entrance, are to be seen small and ill-executed carvings, said to be of Helen, Constantine, &c.; but which are evidently modern, and, it may be, were the work of some sentinel, in the days when the Castle was a military fortress—the occupation of his watching hours, and designed only to relieve their tedium. An inscription is here visible, which, as some have pretended, cannot be read; but, on inspection, it is plainly nothing more than

ALTAEROR ROGER CHAMBYRELYNAN \* \* \*  
God \* \* \* \*

with a few other words, which, from the form of the letters, appear to have been cut about the time of Edward III., if not later.

The south-west tower was left pretty entire, with the exception of its summit; by the destroying hands of John Wheely; and, about 80 years since, it was re-furnished with a circular top, so that it is now completely covered in and protected from the weather. From this tower, over the entrance-way and vault before-mentioned, is a passage; along which, on the left, or side overhanging the interior square of the Castle, have been turned some modern arches of brick-work. This passage leads to the Chapel; which occupies the upper portion of the south-east tower, or rather large circular bastion, whose arched top is of peculiar solidity. The length

\* The usual entrance for visitors is by one of the modern doorways that have been alluded to, cut through the east wall.

of the chapel is 47 feet; its greatest width, 40; the height proportionable. It is now used as an armoury for the militia. In a recess stands a fine Roman urn, discovered in the Castle Yard. Below, is a strongly arched vault, used as a common prison, or bridewell.

The Library-Room of the "Castle Society Book Club" is situated between the south-east and south-west towers, being rented of the proprietor by the Society, who hold their meetings in it every Wednesday afternoon; as do the resident and neighbouring Magistrates of the County, on Saturdays, to transact their *local* business. The fine oak mantel-piece of this apartment, did not originally ornament it, but was placed there by B. Strutt, Esq.—The origin and objects of the Castle Society, will be detailed under the head of "Literary and Scientific Institutions."

On surveying the quadrangular space within the walls, now roofless and open to the heavens, though formerly filled with a series of apartments, the first object that strikes the eye is a strong interior wall, running north and south, parts of which are built in the Roman, that is, in the herring-bone fashion. A fellow-wall to this, is now so nearly destroyed, that its position and remains must be sought after in order to be discovered. These walls enclosed a gallery, communicating with the rooms on both sides of it, all of which appear to have been in the upper part of the structure: and there are yet to be seen two good chimnies in the thickness of the east, and the same number in that of the west external wall, turned with handsome Roman arches. At the south end of the gallery, on the ground-floor, is a strong arched room, that receives a scanty portion of light through a small aperture in the south wall of the Castle: this room, tradition says, was the last lodging

of those martyrs to the cause of a sovereign not wholly worthy of their devotedness, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle. There are spacious vaults below the greater part of the edifice, the partition supporting the arches of which is in the exact shape of a *cross*; another commemorative circumstance, it may be, of the legend of Helen. These vaults were discovered by Wheely; who found them full of sand, which he carted away through a breach made by him in the foundation-wall, where it is 30 feet in thickness, near the north-east corner: but his trouble, in this as in every other respect, met not with a reward to equal his expectations.

Through a door-way facing the north, now never opened, it is said that Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle were led forth to execution by command of Fairfax. The visitant must tread the sod that grows over the scene of their cold-blooded sacrifice, with feelings, which we should presume did we attempt to prompt: esteem and pity must be conceded to those brave and hardly-used knights by all, whatever may be their political views of the times in which they suffered, or their opinions of the real motives by which the Parliamentary General was led to this tragical consummation of the ever memorable Siege.

Both on the north and east sides, the Castle-precincts were secured by a deep ditch, and strong rampart of earth, which are now within the garden of Mrs. Round, as noticed in our perambulatory description of the town Walls. The rampart itself is thrown upon a wall, which formerly encompassed either the Castle, or that palace of Coel on whose site it stands: the buttresses, and other parts, of this old wall, were discovered nearly a century since. On the south and west sides,

another strong wall, with two gates, of the date of the existing building, formed the boundary, in those directions, of its bailey, or bailiwick. The southern line of this wall was taken down by Robert Northfolk, Esq. before-mentioned, who erected in its stead a range of houses facing the High Street. The western wall extended as far as to one side of St. Helen's Lane.

Norden states Colchester Castle to have been built by Edward the Elder. That prince repaired indeed the town-walls, in the year 921, as is seen from the Saxon Chronicle; and if there were in his time any remains of Coel's palace, he might very possibly restore them in some degree as a fortification in the manner of his age. But the style of the present Castle is so evidently Norman, that there cannot be a doubt of its having been erected after the Conquest, when fortresses were reared in most of the considerable towns of England, with a view to the more perfect subjection of the inhabitants. Not improbably too it was founded by Eudo Dapifer, as is asserted in the Monasticon; and in *fundo palatii Coelis quondam Regis*, according to the Colchester Chronicle, anno 1076. The original proprietor was the King; and it continued in the crown until 1214, when JOHN granted it, along with the Borough, and the hundred of Tendring, to a Stephen Harringood, during pleasure. After passing through a variety of other hands, it at length became the property of Sir James Northfolk, Sergeant-at-arms to the House of Commons, whose son, Robert Northfolk, Esq., enjoyed it after him. But, having impoverished himself by building the range of houses before spoken of, north of the High Street, the latter sold it, in 1683, to the *Vandal* Wheely, who, disappointed of the hopes he had entertained from its purchase, resold it to Sir Isaac Rebow, Knt. Of the

grandson of Sir Isaac, Charles Chamberlain Rebow, Esq. it was bought by Charles Gray, Esq., its possessor when Morant wrote; and, as has been stated, it is now the property of Charles Round, Esq., of *Birch Hall*.

Colchester Castle, with its Bailey, though taxed in All-Saints' parish; was long considered independent of the Corporation, and not within any of the parochial boundaries. But it is certain that the Justices of the Borough, the Coroner, &c., have jurisdiction within it; and by a legal decision in 1810, it was made equally liable to the Poor-Rate of the parish of All Saints. The town itself was formerly feudatory to the Castle, by rents and many other duties and services; but a discharge and exemption from these was purchased from Queen Elizabeth, and confirmed by Parliament in the beginning of her reign. The donation to the office of Steward of the hundred of Tendring, and the nomination of the Bailiff of that hundred, have appertained to the proprietor of this Castle. And within, and for that hundred, a court is, and from time immemorial has been holden, from three weeks to three weeks, by the Steward.

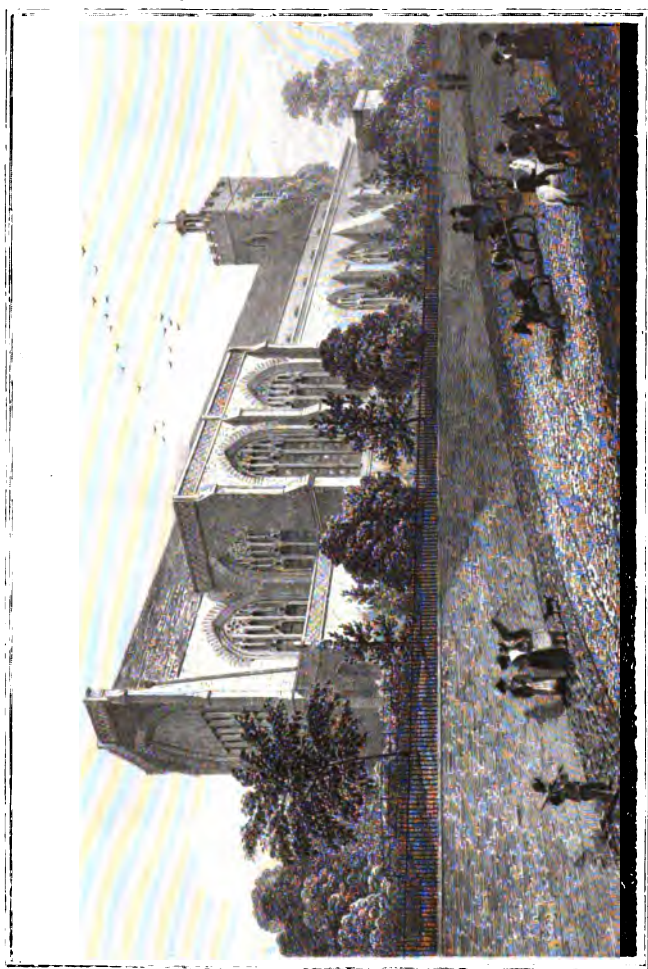
All-Saints' Church stands on the south side of the High Street, and has a handsome tower of flint-stones at the west end. It consists of a nave, chancel, and north aisle. Morant speaks of the south wall as built in the Roman or herring-bone fashion; but this wall has been modernised, and the cement with which it is covered probably conceals the herring-bone work. It is not otherwise deserving of description.—The present Rector is the Rev. Richard Hoblyn, A. M.

The Census gave the houses in this parish at 75; male inhabitants, 163; females, 242; total population, 405.

## 8.—ST. JAMES.

The eighth and last parish, whose church is situated within the Walls, is that of St. James. Its boundaries are, on the west, All-Saints', and part of St. Botolph's; on the south, parts of St. Botolph's, St. Giles's, and St. Mary Magdalen's; on the east, St. Leonard's, Greenstead, and part of St. Botolph's; and on the north, Mile-End.

The *Church* of St. James, consisting of a nave, side aisles, and chancel, is large, regular, and in a considerable degree handsome. Both the body and tower are of Roman brick, mingled with stone; but the chancel derives even an elegant character from the intermixture in its composition of flint and polished stones. The only parochial edifice in Colchester, whose interior can compare with it, is St. Peter's. It boasts a handsome monument to the memory of Arthur Winsley, Esq., Alderman of Colchester, and Justice of Peace for the county, who died in 1726-7, and was "the Founder and Endower of Twelve Charity Houses in St. Botolph's Parish," as says the inscription. The monument cannot be better described than by the item providing for its erection in his will;—"I give two hundred and fifty pounds, to be laid out on a Monument to be erected against the south wall of the said church, with my statue cut out in marble, lying with the left hand under the head, and a book in the right hand, and in a night-gown;"—these directions having been exactly followed, excepting only as regards the *situation* of the monument, which is not "against the south wall," but at the east end of the south aisle. The altar-piece of this church also deserves notice, as a striking proof of talent in the self-taught artist Carter, who was of poor parent-



ST. JAMES'S CHURCH.  
COLCHESTER.

Pubd Decr 20 1854 for the Proprietors P. Youngman & J. Greig  
by Messrs. Swinburne & Walter, Colchester







age, and owed his education to a charitable institution, the Blue-coat School, of this town.

The ancient *Monastery of the Grey Friars* was situated in this parish, and almost opposite the church; from which circumstance, that part of the High Street which ran under the convent wall, was formerly called *Freris*, or *Frere Street*. It was founded in the year 1309, by Robert Baron Fitzwalter, Lord of the manor of Lexden, who, in 1325, entered himself of this order, and became an inmate of his own foundation, in which he died the same year. As these Friars, agreeably to their founder's rule, pretended not to call or hold any thing as their own, but to subsist by the labour of their hands and the contributions of the charitable, their establishment here, it may be presumed, was not large, nor their lands extensive. Accordingly, their entire possessions appear to have been comprised within little more than five acres, lying near the north-east angle of the Town-Wall; but belonging to an order, very popular on account of its affected austerities, they received plentiful alms and donations, and bequests of money to them were frequent.

*St. Anne's Chapel*, another ancient religious foundation, stands within the boundaries of St. James's parish, on a rising ground eastward of the town and river, and on the south side of the road leading to Harwich. When, or by whom, it was founded, appears not upon record. But it was in being, as an Hermitage, in the year 1406, and very probably earlier, in the reign of Henry III.; for in an allocation in the Exchequer of the latter period, there is an allowance stated to "the Hermit of St. James's parish." We learn also from some presentments made at the law-hundred-courts in Colchester, that it was an Hermitage, and had a well near it, (yet in

existence,) called the Holy-well. And there is farther reason to conclude, that it was an appendage to St. Botolph's Priory. A barn has been reared upon its remains, which latter form a very small portion of the building as it now stands. The Well, whose origin is most probably coeval with that of the Hermitage, has been recently repaired with brick-work: some cottagers residing opposite, still call it the Holy-well.

To arrive at the object last mentioned, we must have passed over *East Bridge*, which crosses the Colne at the foot of East Hill. It is the handsomest of the three bridges at this town, having five well-formed arches of brick, surmounted by stone pilasters and an iron balustrade. East Bridge was erected rather more than twenty years back. Both it and North Bridge were of wood when Morant wrote.

From the Population Return we learn, that the houses in St. James's parish, in 1821, were reckoned at 250; the male inhabitants, 590; females, 675; total population, 1265.—Present *Rector*, the Rev. John Dakins, A. M.





*Remains of*  
**ST. BOTOPHIS PRISON.**  
 COLLECTED  
 BY THE B. & O. R. R. CO.

### CHAP. III.

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PARISHES WITHOUT THE WALLS: VIZ. ST. BOTOLPH'S, ST. GILES'S, ST. MARY MAGDALEN'S, AND ST. LEONARD'S, OTHERWISE THE HITHE.

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IN treating of the four Parishes which lie without, but contiguous to, the Walls, we shall describe

#### 1—ST. BOTOLPH'S:

the boundaries of which are, on the west, parts of the parishes of St. Nicholas, Holy Trinity, and St. Giles; on the south, that of St. Giles; on the east, parts of those of St. Mary-Magdalen, St. Leonard, Greenstead, and St. James; and on the north, parts of St. Nicholas's, All-Saints', St. James's, Mile-End, and Ardley. The Return of 1821 proved this to be the most populous parish of Colchester: giving the houses at 481; male inhabitants, 964; females, 1166; total population, 2130. Its extent into the country is pretty considerable; and Morant speaks of it as "very populous" in his time, when the number of its houses was 409;—shewing 72 to have been built since that period. As it contains no church in a fit state for the performance of divine service, this parish is consolidated, for every ecclesiastical purpose, with that of All-Saints.

The distinguishing feature of St. Botolph's is its *Priory*, whose remains have so long afforded a favourite subject for the painter, while they interested alike the lovers of antiquity and picturesque effect. These impressive ruins are situated just without where stood St. Botolph's Gate; and a little to the south of More Lane, so named from the *more*, or garden, formerly attached to the Convent, a part of whose ancient wall forms its southern line for some distance. Of the Priory itself there are scarcely any vestiges, the few existing portions of walls being incorporated with a brewery erected on its site: it is the monastic *Church*, of which we present a view to the reader, that we shall attempt to describe.

The Historian of Colchester so often quoted, justly speaks of this edifice as "noble and magnificent." He gives the following as its dimensions, not including what formerly existed eastward of the present remains, and of which nothing is now to be seen, although the foundations might still, possibly, be traced.

Length, within the walls, 108 feet.

Width of the Nave, between the Pillars,  $25\frac{1}{2}$  feet.

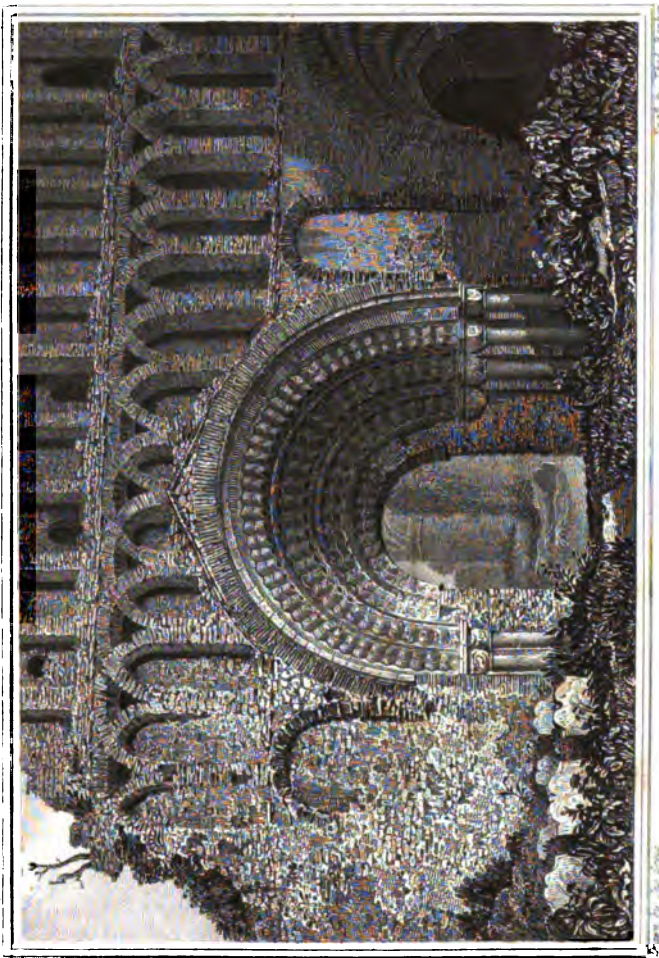
Width of the South Aisle, 9 feet, 1 inch and  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

Width of the North Aisle, 9 feet,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

Diameter of the Pillars,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet.

Thickness of the West Wall, at the  
Great Door }  $8\frac{1}{2}$  feet.

Roman brick preponderates in the general appearance of these interesting ruins. The grand western front is ornamented, immediately above the principal entrance, with two distinct rows of intersecting semicircular arches, which form pointed arches at their intersections, in the manner supposed to have first suggested the style commonly called Gothic. Above these appears to have been a central circular window: but how the



*West entrance to the Church of*  
**ST. BOTOLPH'S PRIORY,**  
**COLCHESTER.**

Publ. Decr. 20. 1841. for the Proprietors P. Youngman & J. Grogan  
 by J. Smith, 25. Cornhill & W. Lee, 10. Colchester.





summit of this front terminated, must be matter of conjecture. At either angle, it is known, however, was a stately tower; of which the north-west "was standing," says Morant, "within the memory of man." The entrance is by a deeply-receding semicircular arch; the best specimen of the grand Norman door-way now extant in Colchester; though much of it is hidden from the spectator by the accumulation of earth about it, to a height far above that of the original basement.

The prevalence of the pure Roman semicircular arch, unaccompanied by Gothic ornaments, in these remains, points distinctly to that period of architecture for the rise of this religious foundation, at which our Norman lords had only begun to conceive of a *pointed* order, and that only through observing the effect accidentally produced by the combination of semicircular arches. The noble nave elevates itself by a double row of such Roman arches, (the one surmounting the other) on each side: the southern line of these, which is by far the least perfect, is richly mantled near the west end with ivy, planted about forty years since by the predecessor of the present parish-clerk, who for more than fifty years enjoyed his office, and has a tablet in the ruins to his memory. The arches to the windows of the north aisle, it is observable, are pointed; and were of later erection, there can be little doubt from that circumstance, than the nave. Of the south aisle, the remains are very trifling; and no vestige of a chancel is now visible, that part of the building having of course shared the calamity that befel the entire eastern end.

The situation of this fine conventual church, on the side of a declivity within range of Fairfax's guns, (a battery having been planted on the high ground towards Wivenhoe,) was the cause of its sustaining such serious

injury from the attacks of the Parliament's General. At least it is more probable that it owed its present dilapidated state to this cause, than that the Royalists themselves should have battered it, as some have stated, to prevent the enemy from forming a 'lodgement within its walls. Until the period of the Civil Wars, St. Botolph's was considered the principal church of Colchester; and hither the Corporation, in their formalities, resorted on Sundays, and all public occasions, to hear the *General Preacher*.\*

It remains to speak of the origin of this monastic establishment.—It was founded, about the beginning of the twelfth century, for canons-regular of St. Augustine,†

\* "Another piece of grandeur they (the Corporation) had, which is now almost entirely forgotten. That is, the Bailiffs, and afterwards the Mayor, had a Chaplain, styled the General or Common Preacher, or Lecturer: and the first was about the year 1564. He was generally some noted Preacher from Cambridge, chosen during the pleasure of the Bailiffs, or Mayor, and Commonalty; and presented to, approved, and licensed, by the Bishop of London. His business was, to preach on Sundays in the afternoon, Wednesdays in the forenoon, on the greater festivals, and on the fast and air days, coronation days, at elections, gaol deliveries, &c."—The last of these General Preachers was Dr. John Edwards, chosen in 1700.—"Their maintenance was first by subscription: but, in 1576, a salary of £40 per annum, payable quarterly by the Chamberlain, was settled upon them. In 1593, it was increased to 100 marks; viz. £50 by patent, and £16 13s. 4d. by subscription. To that, in 1610, an addition of £10 was made for a house. In 1620, the salary was raised to £100 besides £10 for a house. In 1662, it was reduced to £50; but in 1663, an addition of £10 was made thereto; and in 1668, another addition of £10—At length the office of a General Preacher dwindled into a few sermons, preached by some of the clergy in the Town, at the election and swearing of a Mayor, &c."—*Morant*.

† This Order claims St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, for its founder, but is undoubtedly of later date. We have good authority

by a monk named Eynulph, or Ernulph, who became its first Prior. These canons were brought into England about the year 1109; and this House appears to have been the first of their order in the kingdom; of which a bull of Pope Paschal II., directed to Ernulph and his brethren, in August, 1116, is evidence. Paschal gave them pre-eminence over every other house of the Augustine order in this country, and invested them with a general authority and jurisdiction over all such; putting at the same time the churches of Trinity and St. Leonard, in London, under their government and obedience. The bull exempted them besides from all other ecclesiastical or secular jurisdiction; and ordained, that, after Ernulph's death, the succeeding Priors should be chosen by their brother canons, or a majority of them; and be consecrated, without fees, by the Bishop of London, (or, if he refused, by some other Bishop,) from whom they were to receive a kind of episcopal office and power. Of the number of the canons, there is no record. Neither does it appear that Ernulph settled on his new foundation any lands or other possessions, except perhaps the site and gardens of the Priory. But it soon met with benefactors, although its revenues were never particularly ample. The original dedication was to St. Botolph and St. Julian.

At the dissolution of the Monasteries, the site and revenues, valued at £113 12s. 8d., were granted by Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Audeley, Knt., Lord Chancellor of England; who alienating them, the site passed through various hands, until it became a brew-house;

for believing, that it was not till about the twelfth century that these canons had the title of St. Augustine conferred on them.—*See Hist. des Ordr. Monastiq. Vol. II.*

being such when Morant wrote, and continuing such, as we have stated, at the present period.

In St. Botolph's Street, in this parish, was born Dr. Samuel Harsnet, Archbishop of York in the seventeenth century, a prelate very eminent for learning in his day, and who bequeathed his library to his native town.\* He was the son of William Harsnet, or Hasnothe, a baker; and was baptized, June 20, 1576. Having acquired competent school-learning, probably in his birth-place, he was sent to Cambridge, and admitted of King's College in 1576. In 1586, he was chosen Master of the Free School in Colchester, but retained that situation little more than a year and a half. Being instituted, in June, 1597, to the vicarage of Chigwell, Essex, he successively acquired other church preferments, until at length, in 1609, he was elected Bishop of Chichester; and, ten years afterwards, was translated to the see of Norwich. But, being branded with the name of Arminian by the Puritans, he underwent some trouble from the persecutions of that sect; and in May, 1624, he was accused by the Commons, at a conference, of several misdemeanours. Upon the death of George Montaigne, prelate of York, he was translated to the vacant archbishoprick in 1628; but did not long enjoy his archiepiscopal dignity, since he died in 1631, and was buried in Chigwell church.

Dr. John Bastwick, whose voice was heard so loud above the din of the political and puritanical squabbles of the seventeenth century, and whose zeal heaped so many troubles on his own head, was also a resident in this parish; having practised physic for a while in Eld Lane, though he was not a native of Colchester, being

\* See "Castle Society Book Club:" Part II. chap. 9.

born at Writtle in this county. Full particulars of his life, for which we cannot afford room, may be seen in the *Biographia Britannica*.

The *Theatre* of Colchester is situated in that part of Queen Street, which lies within the limits of St. Botolph's. It is a plain brick building, internally convenient, but without pretensions to architectural elegance. The performers are of the Norwich company, and commence their season here a little before Christmas.

## 2.—ST. GILES.

St. Giles's parish is bounded, on the north and west, by St. Botolph's, and parts of Holy Trinity, St. Mary's, and Stanway; on the south, by parts of Laver de la Hay, Bere-church, and East Doniland; and on the east, by the last-mentioned parish, by the river Colne, and the Hithe. Its extent into the country is considerable; as the names of some of the adjoining parishes will shew. The present *Rector* is the Rev. J. W. Morgan, A. M.

As the Priory of St. Botolph formed the prominent subject of the preceding section, so the once rich and stately *Abbey of St. John* will make the principal figure in this.

The Abbey, dedicated to the honour of Christ and John the Baptist, was one other of those princely works of Eudo Dapifer, of which more than one have been already mentioned. And as the foundation of this monastery is by far the best authenticated act of munificence recorded of a personage so famous in Colchester annals, as well as that best illustrative of his character, we shall take the present opportunity to narrate some particulars concerning him.

Eudo was the fourth son of Hubert de Rie, servant

and favourite to William, surnamed the Conqueror, and was honoured, not less than his father, with the most substantial marks of our first Norman monarch's affection. From William he received no less than twenty-five lordships in Essex, seven in Hertfordshire, one in Berkshire, twelve in Bedfordshire, nine in Norfolk, and ten in Suffolk; besides being appointed Sewer, or Steward, of the royal household. He was particularly instrumental to the elevation of William Rufus to the throne. For, being in Normandy with the young prince, when the Conqueror was on his death-bed there, he advised him not to neglect so fair an opportunity of prosecuting his claims, especially since his elder brother Robert, and the Norman barons, were known to be adverse to them. He accompanied William to England; where they kept secret the late king's death, until they had obtained possession of the royal treasure at Winchester; and Eudo had secured the fidelity of the keepers of the castles of Dover, Pevensey, Hastings, &c. to his party, by promises on oath exacted from them, to deliver up those important fortresses to such persons only as he, in quality of Steward to the Conqueror, and invested with powers by him for this especial purpose, should appoint. The death of the King was then formally declared, and thus was William the Second seated quietly upon his father's throne.

In gratitude for these important services, the new monarch loaded Eudo with favours, and he became one of the most eminent barons in the kingdom. The town of Colchester, which had suffered much from the oppressive system of government pursued by the creatures of the Conqueror, and having some knowledge perhaps of the personal character of the favourite, desired to put themselves under his protection, and

receive him as their governor. Their desire was complied with: Eudo arrived; and, by his vigorous measures of reform, and prompt redress of grievances, gave general satisfaction. He built, as tradition asserts, and has been noticed, the Castle, the Moot-Hall, and the ancient house opposite the latter, bearing the date 1090. All which done, he resolved to provide for the wealth of his soul, in the manner recommended by the superstition of the times, that is, by founding a monastery.

For this purpose he pitched upon a pleasant eminence south of the town, on which stood the little dwelling, or hermitage, of one Siric, a priest, and a wooden church, famed for the miracles said to be performed within its walls,\* dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. Accordingly, on the 29th of August, 1096, the ground was marked out, in presence of Maurice, Bishop of London, who highly applauded the design, and workmen set to level and prepare the place. And, the year following, after Easter, Eudo himself laid the first stone.

But difficulties occurred in the establishment of monks in the new convent; and much jangling took place between the *two* at first sent from Rochester, and their *two* successors from the same place, and Eudo, chiefly owing to the inability of the latter, during a temporary disgrace he sustained with Henry I., to settle revenues upon his foundation. Nay, Eudo even "began to repent, and to wish he had never thought of his monastery." However, Stephen, Abbot of York, at length provided him, to his great joy, with thirteen

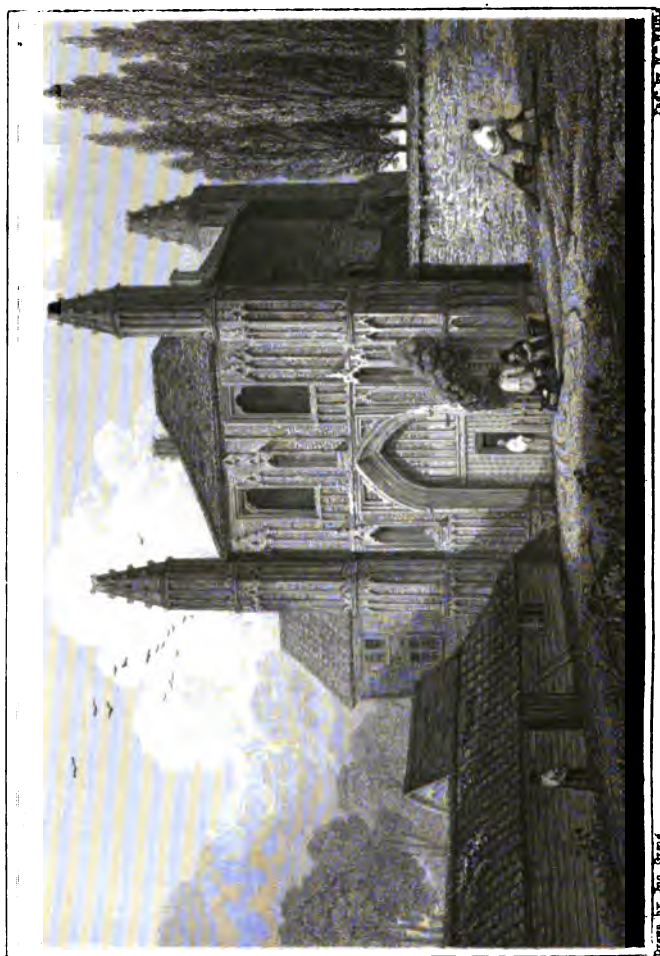
\* In particular, "on dark nights, heavenly lights were often seen there, and voices praising God heard, when no one was within."—*Morant*.

monks, (those from Rochester having returned to their place,) of whom one was to govern under the title of Provost, or Prior, and in process of time to be ordained Abbot. The building was then carried on with renewed vigour, under the direction of William, a priest, nephew to the founder, who spared neither pains nor money in furthering the undertaking. Meanwhile the monks lived agreeably to the strictness of their order, the Benedictine;\* serving God regularly in their church, exercising hospitality, and, in fine, practising in their full extent those virtues, which proved the most effectual foundation of all our celebrated monasteries, and to which the superstition that almost necessarily accompanied them in that age, was regarded only as an additional ornament. At last, Hugh, one of the thirteen, was chosen Abbot, and consecrated by Bishop Maurice about the year 1104: both before and after which event, the sanctity of the inmates of St. John's having grown into the general theme, and their example prevailing with the neighbourhood, the number of the monks was gradually increased, until it amounted to, and for a time appears to have exceeded, twenty; beyond which there was no increase at the Dissolution. The church was very solemnly consecrated on the 10th of January; at which time it was munificently endowed by the founder, and other devout persons, whose grants were offered upon the altar. Nor can there be a doubt, that such an application of property, in that rude era, was attended with much benefit to society; for, besides employing great numbers of officers and servants, monasteries then daily entertained the infirm

\* The Benedictine Order was founded so early as towards the beginning of the sixth century, by St. Benedict, born at Nursi in Italy, about the year 480.—*Monast. Angl.* vol. 1.







Drawn by Geo. Grog

Engr. by Geo. Grog

# **ST. JOHN'S ABBEY GATE. COLCHESTER.**

Pub<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 20. 1824 for the Proprietors P. Youngman & J. Grog  
by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Smithburne & Walter Colchester



and diseased poor, besides all travellers who passed their doors, and in fact very nearly answered the threefold purpose of poor-houses, inns, and hospitals—not to mention that of religious devotion, which, we ought not to dispute, was in very many instances consistent and sincere. Eudo enlarged upon his former bounty when he found his end approaching; for, besides an additional manor, he bequeathed to his monastery a hundred pounds in money, “his gold ring with a topaz, a standing cup with a cover adorned with plates of gold, together with his horse and mule.” He died at the castle of Préaux, in Normandy; and, agreeably to his desire, was conveyed to England, and buried in the Abbey of his founding, February 28, 1120.—At the Dissolution, the Abbey, with its revenues, were valued at £523. 17s. 9d.; which sum, small as it was in proportion to the actual value, Speed, by a very unaccountable mistake, renders at only 08l. 01s. 08d.

The remains of this once famous Monastery are now so totally demolished, that, with the exception of the stately *Gateway*, of which our engraving presents a view, scarcely a stone of it can be said to stand upon another. A porter's lodge, it is true, adjoins the gate-way: a part of the monastic offices, on the west, is converted into a barn; and the garden-walls are sufficiently entire to mark the area they described, comprehending about fourteen acres. But of the general outline of the buildings, tradition even will not furnish us with an idea; and the very spot where was situated the spacious *Church* of the Abbey, is not certainly known.

It is generally believed, however, that this latter structure stood south-east of the gate-way; and a drawing in MS. in the Cottonian Library, taken before the

suppression of the monasteries, fortunately affords us its "south prospect." From this we may observe, that it was in the usual Gothic form of a cross; that it had transepts; and a low square tower at their intersection with the nave and chancel. From the centre of this tower arose a short circular spire, with four others at its angles, all surmounted with a ball and cross. This tower was turretted; as was one of the two round towers placed at the angles of the west end. Equally as regards uniformity and elegance of proportions, the Abbey-church appears to have been infinitely exceeded by its rival of St. Botolph's Priory: yet, had it been permitted to remain to our day, the structure would have presented us with a very curious example of Gothic architecture in the twelfth and early part of the thirteenth century. In the lancet windows of the chancel, and central tower; in the detached quatrefoils dispersed over the building; and in the more spacious lights, simply mullioned, and slightly canopied, of what seems to have been a south aisle; we discern the early and successive stages of our ecclesiastical style: while in the perfectly castellated form of the almost windowless round tower at the south-west angle, we may remark the difficulty with which our ancestors separated even from their religious edifices some notions of a *keep*, or defensible refuge in cases of extremity.

The Gate-way still standing, it may be here remarked, is evidently of much more recent date than was the Abbey-church. The carved work that overruns its front, and the figures of angels, &c. surmounting its portals; the crocketed pinnacles, square heads to the windows, and niches elegantly canopied; seem to point to its very probable erection at so late a period as the beginning, or perhaps even as the middle, of the fifteenth



St. John's Abbey Church in Colchester, Essex.  
 Colchester.

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century. The material is hewn stone and flint, without any mixture of Roman brick; a circumstance that would alone bespeak its comparatively modern era. Every one will observe, that, commandingly as it stands at the upper part of St. John's Green, (a situation which overlooks the greater part of Colchester,) it must have formed a noble and striking entrance to the monastery.

The Abbot of St. John's was mitred; that is, he was one of those twenty-eight in England, who enjoyed the privileges of wearing a mitre, and of sitting in the Upper House of Parliament. He was distinguished by the high style of, *By the Grace of God*, and, *By Divine Permission*. The Abbey itself was invested with very high privileges. For it had full jurisdiction in determining causes in all the lands adjoining to the monastery; and the same honour, liberty, and laws, as had the Church of St. Peter at Westminster. By which latter distinction is to be understood, that it was exempt from all episcopal and other jurisdiction; free from suits of counties and hundreds, from Sheriff's aids, and amerciaments of counties; from pleas of forest, waste, and reward; as well as from passage, pontage, warnage, burg-penny, aver-penny, ward-penny, dane-geld, &c.; with many other privileges and immunities, comprehended in the charter granted by Richard I. Notwithstanding all which, it appears from Colchester records, that the Abbots were constantly endeavouring to encroach upon the liberties and privileges of the town. But a period was to be put to their ambition and their mitred pride, by that scourge of churchmen, the terrible Eighth Henry; and though the Superior of St. John's was one of the staunchest supporters of spiritual power against temporal prerogative, he only hastened thereby his own end, without averting the fate of the monastery he governed.

John Beche, the last Abbot, was one of the three distinguished by the mitre, (the two others being of Glastonbury and Reading) who had the boldness to refuse a surrender to the last, or to subscribe to the king's supremacy; and for his contumacy being attainted of high treason, he was hanged at Colchester, December 1, 1539. Tradition even says, that the town-magistrates invited him to a feast, and not till his arrival among them either shewed or informed him of the royal warrant; when they hung him without farther ceremony.

Henry granted a lease of the site of this Abbey to Sir Thomas Darcy, Knt.; from whom, after one or two intermediate possessors, it passed into the Lucas family, who were of great antiquity in this neighbourhood, and of whom was the heroic martyr to the interests of Charles I. John Lucas Esq., the purchaser of the monastery, converted its remains into a noble seat; which continued the residence of the family, until it being discovered that Sir John Lucas, Knt. (elder brother to Sir Charles, and afterwards Lord Lucas) was about to declare for the royal cause, the Parliamentary party plundered and nearly demolished it. And as what was left after this calamity, had to sustain the ordeal of possession by Fairfax, while he battered the town from the Green, and possibly from its very site, the absence of every vestige of the seat of the Lucases, no less than of the convent of a prior age, becomes matter of less surprise to the modern enquirer.

The *Church* of St. Giles stands near the north-west corner of St. John's Garden, in rear of the supposed site of the Abbey-church. It has a body, chancel, and north aisle. Little more than the chancel was in a fit state for the performance of divine service when Morant wrote; the rest having become ruinous, either through



neglect, or at the period of the Siege: the Historian justly considered the latter as the more probable. But all the ruinous part was restored a few years since; and the entire edifice, externally and internally, is now extremely neat.

In a vault under the north aisle of this church, which belonged to the noble family of Lucas, lie interred the remains of Sir Charles Lucas, and his companion in arms and in death, Sir George Lisle; their bodies having been conveyed hither after their execution, and buried in a very private manner. When their funeral was afterwards magnificently solemnized, a slab of black marble was placed over the vault, and the following inscription cut upon its surface, in unusually large and deep characters:

“Under this Marble ly the Bodies of the two most valiant Captains, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, Knights, who for their eminent Loyalty to their Soverain, were on the 28th day of August 1648, by the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the General of the Parliament army, in cold blood barbarously murdered.”

There is a tradition in Colchester, that George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who married Lord Fairfax's only daughter, finding that this epitaph reflected upon the memory of his father-in-law, applied to Charles II. to have it erased. The King mentioned the Duke's desire to Lord Lucas; when his Lordship replied, that he would readily obey his Majesty's commands, provided his Majesty would allow an inscription to be placed in room of that removed, to the following effect: “That Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, were barbarously murdered for their loyalty to King Charles I.; and that his son, King Charles II., ordered the memorial of their loyalty to be

erased." Upon which just reproof, it is said, the King, instead of ordering the obliteration of the inscription, gave directions that the characters might be more deeply engraven than at first.

A hamlet in this parish is called the *Old Hithe*, (or *Old Harbour*;) from the circumstance that there vessels unloaded their merchandize, before the river was made navigable to the present, or *New Hithe*, at St. Leonard's. But the old harbour must have been now slighted not less than between five and six hundred years.

Population Return of St. Giles's parish:—houses, 279; male inhabitants, 610; females, 716; total population, 1326.

### 3.—ST. MARY MAGDALEN'S

is the smallest parish in Colchester; the houses, in 1821, enumerating only 83; the male inhabitants, 231; females, 240; total population, 471. Its contents in land are about fifty acres, and comprise little more than Magdalen Street and Green.

The *Church*, standing on the north side of Magdalen Green, is a very small building, of a single pace, tiled. The little chancel, which is modern, is of brick. The west end, with its wooden turret, were damaged by lightning in 1739; but were subsequently repaired.

The *Hospital* dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, is a very ancient foundation, having, like the Abbey, Castle, &c. &c. derived its origin from Eudo the Steward, who designed it for the reception of leprous and infirm people. The Lepers had tithes of St. John's Abbey; and several of our early monarchs were their benefactors. But, in the reign of Edward I., Abbot Adam de Campes not only withheld their tithes, and a pension of

six pounds a year granted them by Henry I. out of the convent's manor of Brightlingsea, but, having artfully desired to see their charter, committed it to the flames. Not content with which, he took away their common seal; compelled them to swear obedience to him; and turned such as refused this homage out of their dwellings. The poor brethren applied to Parliament, however, for redress, and were reinstated.

Upon the general destruction of the Hospitals in Edward the Sixth's reign, this underwent the common fate. But it does not appear to have been immediately granted away; for, in the year 1558, it was held by Bonner, Bishop of London, in free-alms. Afterwards, the lands belonging to it were squandered away, and some irrecoverably lost; and the Chapel of the Hospital was entirely demolished. However, in the year 1610, James I. refounded the institution, under the title of "The College or Hospital of King James within the suburbs of the town of Colchester;" restoring all the lands, revenues, and possessions, settled upon it by the original founder, and making the regulations following respecting it.—That it should consist of a Master, and five poor persons, single, or married; that the Master should have the cure of the souls of the parishioners of St. Mary Magdalen, and pay each of the said five poor persons fifty-two shillings a year, at the four terms of the year, by equal portions; that the poor persons, chosen by the Master, should remain for life, unless removed by him for a reasonable cause; that the Master and poor persons should form a body corporate, and have a common seal; &c. &c. The visitor is the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, who has the gift of the mastership.

The Masters of this Hospital are often mentioned in the records of the town, but seldom by name, so that little

can be known respecting them. But we have historical notice of *Gabriel Honeyfold*, D.D., Vicar of Ardley, who was Master at the commencement of the civil wars of the seventeenth century, and who (says Morant) "had his house rifled by the mob of all its furniture; his bills, bonds, and evidences taken away; and not a shelf left behind, nor a pin to hang his hat on." On which occasion the parish-register was destroyed, with possibly many memorials of this foundation. The present Master, the Rev. John Robert Smythies, A.M., erected upon the site of the old Hospital the existing range of substantial brick buildings, constructed for the occupation of a Master and five widows, who now reside therein.

Of the *Barracks*, situated, until the close of the late war, on the south side of Magdalen Street, there are now no vestiges, if we except a few of the officers' houses, which have been converted into private residences, and some cottages constructed from the materials of the former buildings. A very small military party is continued at the inconsiderable new barracks (of later erection) at a short distance; and thus has vanished the martial bustle that for successive years pervaded Colchester and all the principal towns of this county, to the regret of not a few, who derived from it a very considerable increase to their daily business.

#### ST. LEONARD'S, OTHERWISE THE HITHE.

This is a small parish, named from its church dedicated to St. Leonard, and the Saxon *Hyth*, signifying a harbour, as it constitutes the harbour of Colchester. It has, on the west and south, St. Mary Magdalen's and parts of St. James's, St. Botolph's, and St. Giles's; on the east, Greenstead; and on the north, parts of St. Botolph's and St. James's.

The *Hithe*, which gives all its present consequence to this parish, was in former times the most important adjunct to the whole town, being that from which it acquired the name and honours of a port, although distant eight or nine miles from the German Sea: the chief magistrate, it appears, was originally styled *port-reeve*.\* This harbour appears to have been very early frequented, although we have no exact account of its formation, nor of the time at which the old *Hithe* fell into disuse. But records of the date 1276, being the most ancient court-rolls of the town extant, mention the present harbour by name; and it appears from an account taken in the 17th of Richard II., that seventy-two vessels entered it from the 9th of July to the 29th of December, 1393.

Various resolutions of the town authorities, and acts of the legislature, have passed for the cleansing, widening, and deepening of the channel and river, and for the maintenance of the haven, from time to time. Duties payable to the Corporation, upon the import and export of commodities, were very early exacted, and their proceeds directed to be applied to these purposes. A Water-bailiff was appointed to collect the dues; but of late years the duties of that officer have chiefly respected the oyster-dredgers, whose licenses for dredging issue from the Corporation.

Vessels of from 100 to 150 tons burthen can unload at the quay, but few exceed 100 tons. At Wivenhoe, which is nearer the sea, and perhaps is most properly

\* The arms of the town, as a port, are a Raven; and the seal affixed in 1348 to the foundation deed of Joseph Elianore's chantry, (the most considerable of the few institutions of this kind founded in the times of Romish superstition in Colchester,) bears this bird, with the inscription round it, SIGILL. CVSTOD. PORT. COLCEST.

